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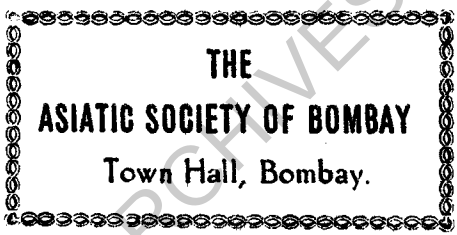

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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BENGAL IN 1756-1757

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INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

BENGAL IN 1756-1757

A SELECTION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PAPERS DEALING WITH THE AFFAIRS OF THE BRITISH IN BENGAL DURING THE REIGN OF SIRAJ-UDDAULA

EDITED
WITH NOTES AND AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
BY S. C. HILL

LATE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AUTHOR OF 'MAJOR-GENERAL CLAUD MARTIN'
'THREE FRENCHMEN IN BENGAL'

VOL. III

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 1, note 1, *refers to* ships' logs, *and not to* military journals.
Page 18, line 10, *for* Captain James Rowe *read* Captain Richard Toby.
Page 42, line 19, *for* Captain Waller *read* Captain Weller.
Page 51, line 28, *for* Captain Archibale *read* Captain Archibald.
Page 57, note 1, *for* June 3 *read* June 5.
Page 77, line 9, *for* Whatnore *read* Whatmore.
Page 154, line 31, *for* on he contrary *read* on the contrary.
Page 167, line 31, *for* particular *read* private.
Page 169, line 38, *for* Howell *read* Holwell.
Page 189, line 39, *for* au *read* an.
Page 205, line 38, *after* cast down *insert* and.
Page 242, line 24, *for* vapours *read* vapour.
Page 249, line 1, *for* please *read* pleased.
Page 364, line 38, *for* on the May *read* on May.
Page 414, line 11, *for* Dustick *read* Dusticks.
Page 417, line 6, *for* Coquilare *read* Coquilane.

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A SELECTION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PAPERS DEALING WITH THE AFFAIRS OF THE BRITISH IN BENGAL DURING THE REIGN OF SIRAJUD-DAULA.

APPENDIX I.

SHIPS' LOGS AND MILITARY JOURNALS.[1]

1. *Minutes taken aboard His Majesty's ship* 'Kent' *at the attack of Budge Budge Fort, at Tana, and at the attack of Calcutta.*

Thursday, 30 *December*, 1756.—At 7 a.m. the squadron weighed and came to sail for Buzea Bugee in the following order, *Tyger*, *Kent*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgwater*, *Kingsfisher* sloop. At half past 7 the enemy fired at the *Tyger*. At 38 minutes, the *Tyger* returned it. At 55 minutes the *Kent* began to fire. A shot from the Fort went through her mizen topsail and struck her main yard. At 8 o'clock the *Tyger* brought part of her larboard broadside to bear, and both the *Kent* and *Tyger* kept a fire as they could bring guns to bear on the Fort. At 5 minutes past 8 a shot cut away the *Kent's* three aftermost mizen shrouds. The *Tyger* came to an anchor. A shot carried away the *Kent's* main topsail halyards. At 11 minutes past 8 the *Kent* anchored and made the signal to engage, at 35 minutes the King's troops disembarked to join Colonel Clive who appeared on the banks of the river to the eastward of the Fort. At 50 minutes they landed and joined his troops. At 9 o'clock the enemy returned but few shot. At 25 minutes our *sepoys* took possession of the eastermost detached battery, and hoisted their colours, the enemy having deserted it. At half past 9 the *Salisbury* swinging brought her larboard broadside to bear and began to engage, as did the *Bridgwater* to fire some shot. At 10 o'clock the barges were sent to tow the boats with the artillery and stores in order to land them.

[1] Some slight discrepancies will be found between the dates as given here and as given in the land accounts, owing to the fact that on board ship days were counted from noon to noon instead of from midnight to midnight.

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At half past 10 the *Kent* swung, and brought her larboard broadside to bear. At 11 the *Kent* slipt her stern hawser, sent a boat and got it on board again. At 5 minutes past 12 a shot hulled the *Kent* and wounded two seamen, another lodged in the starboard side, and another in the heel of the foretop-gallant mast. At 5 minutes past 1 p.m. hawled down the red flag. At 45 minutes past 2 Colonel Clive came on board. At 55 minutes made the *Salisbury's* signal for a Lieutenant. At half past 3 p.m. sent ashore two nine pounders with ammunition to Colonel Clive. The enemy continued firing some shot and a number of fire arrows.

The *Kent* and *Tyger* fired single guns to dismount those of the enemy; afterwards the *Kent* only fired, the *Tyger* being ordered to leave off. At 4 sent ashore the two barges to assist in getting the guns up. At three quarters past 5 two of the King's soldiers were brought on board the *Kent* wounded. At 6 Colonel Clive came on board. At a quarter past 7 the *Kent* landed 50 seamen and an officer. At half past 8 the body of the Fort was on fire, and at 45 minutes Captain Bridge came on board with an account of our being in possession of it.

Saturday, 1 *January*, 1757.—At 20 minutes past 10 a.m. the *Tyger* made the signal and anchored. At half past the *Kent* anchored, and made the signal for landing the troops. A French ship saluted with nine guns and was returned five. At 11 Captain Latham's signal was made and the order for landing the troops countermanded. At half past 12 the *Tyger* and *Kent* weighed and came to sail for Tanau Fort. At 3 p.m. the *Tyger's* seamen took possession of Tanau, and the *Kent's* of the batterys on the opposite side (the enemy having deserted them) hoisted English colours and set fire to them. The enemy fired several shot from the opposite shore above Tanau. At a quarter past 3 p.m. the *Tyger* came to an anchor a little above Tanau, and the *Kent* anchored abreast of it at 4 o'clock. At 6 p.m. the *Kent's* and *Tyger's* boats manned and armed were sent up the river to destroy a ship and some vessels, and at 9 at night they were all on fire.

Sunday, 2 *January*, 1757.—At half past 7 a.m. Colonel Clive and the Company's troops were landed opposite Tanau, made the *Salisbury's* signal for a Lieutenant. At three quarters past 8 the *Tyger* and *Kent* weighed and came to sail for Calcutta. The *Bridgwater* and *Kingsfisher* sloop followed and the *Salisbury* was left behind as a guardship at Tanau. At 40 minutes past 9 the enemy first fired at the *Tyger*. At 42 minutes she returned a shot, at 45 several more, and continued a fire with her starboard broadside. At 48 minutes they fired on the *Kent*. The *Tyger* being stern to Calcutta she fired her stern chace, and afterwards as she

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Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t London

HOOGLY RIVER, HOOGLY POINT TO CALCUTTA.

Scale: 5 miles to 1 inch.

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brought guns to bear on the Fort. At 15 minutes past 10 she engaged with her larboard broadside. At 20 minutes the *Tyger* anchored. At 25 minutes the *Kent* began to fire with one of her lower tier, which struck the Fort, and immediately after several more. At 28 minutes made the signal for engaging, and engaged with our whole starboard broadside, as every gun bore on the Fort. At 30 minutes past 10 the *Kent* anchored, in swinging fired her stern chace and small arms from the tops. Brought our larboard broadside to bear and engaged with it. Veerd away to a whole cable, the enemy having abandoned their guns abreast of us. At 45 minutes past 10 sent a message to Captain Latham, for the *Tyger* to veer what cable she could. At 46 minutes the enemy waved from the shore and shewed English colours. Sent a boat on shore to the Fort with Captain King. At 55 minutes past 10 Captain Coote with the King's troops and an officer from the *Kent* were sent on shore to take possession of the Fort, and at 11 o'clock they hoisted English colours. At 10 minutes past 11 the *Kent* sent a boat manned and armed to search a French sloop we suspected was carrying off the Europeans who had escaped from the Fort.

2. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Kent,'[1] 16 *October*, 1756, *to* 5 *January*, 1757.

Saturday, 16 *October*.—At 4 p.m. made the signal and weighed in company with the following ships *viz.*, *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater* and *Blaze* fireship, with two East India Company's ships the *Marlborough* and *Walpole*.

Monday, 13 *December*.—Anchored in Culpee Road.

Wednesday, 15 *December*.—Anchored in Fulter Road . . . found riding here His Majesty's sloop *King's Fisher*, *Protector*, one of the Company's cruisers, *Delawar* and *Walpole* Indiamen, with several country ships. The *Tyger* in sight. a.m. The Admiral visited the Governour on board the country ship *Fort William*.

Saturday, 25 *December*.—Anchored here the *Bridgewater*.

Wednesday, 29 *December*.—Half past 2 p.m. made the signal and weighed in company with His Majesty's ships *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater* and *King's Fisher* sloop. At half past 7 anchored off Miapore. Half past seven (a.m.) weighed and got under sail as before. At half past 8 came to.

Thursday, 30 *December*.—At 2 p.m. landed all the troops belonging to the Company at Miapore, as did the rest of the squadron. At half past

[1] Admiralty Captains' Journals, Vol. 502, Public Record Office, 1756.

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3 p.m. weighed and came to sail, and at 6 anchored off Pengal's Point. At 7 a.m. the squadron weighed and came to sail for Buzea Bugea. At half past 7 the enemy fired at the *Tyger*. 18 minutes past she returned it. At 35 past we began to fire. At 3 minutes past 8 we anchored and made the signal to engage. At 35 minutes past disembarked all the King's troops to joyn Collonel Clive who appeared on the banks of the river to the eastward of the Fort, at 50 minutes past they landed. At 9 o'clock the enemy returned but few shotts. At 25 minutes past the King's troops took possession of an abandoned battery that the enemy had withdrawn their cannon from. Half past 9 the *Salisbury* began to fire as did the *Bridgewater*. At 18 minutes past sent all the boats to land the artillery and stores.

Friday, 31 *December*.—At 5 minutes past 1 p.m. hauled down the red flagg . . . half past 3 sent on shore two nine pounders, with 100 shott and powder equivalent, to Colonel Clive. At 6 o'clock he came on board. The enemy fired some shott and a number of fire arrows. At half past 7 landed an officer and fifty seamen. At half past 8 the body of the Fort was on fire. At 45 minutes past 8 Captain Bridge came on board with an account of our being in possession of the Fort. a.m. Got our two guns on board again.

Saturday, 1 *January*, 1757.—At 6 embarked all the troops, at 8 weighed as did the squadron and dropt further up the river. Half past 10 anchored again. At 1 a.m. sent all the boats manned and armed up the river. At 5 they returned again. Half past (seven) weighed and came to sail. At 10 anchored again. A French ship saluted with nine guns. Returned five.

Sunday, 2 *January*, 1757.—Half past noon weighed and came to sail, the *Tyger* in company. At 3 the *Tyger's* seamen took possession of Tanner's Fort, which the enemy had abandoned and our boats took possession of the batterys on the opposite side of the river, and hoisted English colours thereon; set fire to them both at 4, anchored again at 6. The boats belonging to both ships went up the river manned and armed, to destroy a ship and some vessells. At 9 they were all on fire. Half past 6 a.m. landed the Company's troops; at 8 weighed and came to sail in company with the *Tyger*. At 40 minutes past nine the enemy began to fire at the *Tyger* from Fort William. 42 minutes past she returned it; at 48 minutes past they fired at us, at 25 minutes past 10 we began to fire, at 28 minutes past made the signal to engage, at 30 minutes past anchored, at 48 minutes past sent a boat with Captain Coote and the King's troops on shore to take possession of the Fort. At 11

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English colours were hoisted. Sent the boats up the river manned and armed.

Monday, 3 *January*.—The Admiral went ashore. Manned ship and the Fort at his landing saluted with 17 guns.

Wednesday, 5 *January*.—Our boats employed embarking the troops on board the *Bridgewater* and *Kingfisher* sloop to go up the river. At 10 the *Thunder* bomb was put in commission. At 11 sailed hence the *Bridgewater*, *Kingsfisher*, and *Thunder* bomb and two country sloops.

Saturday, 5 *February*.—Sent a midshipman and 18 men to guard a house with provisions in it, and at midnight sent 140 men to camp to assist the troops in storming the Nabob's camp. At 11 a.m. they returned with an account of their having drove the enemy out of their camp.

Tuesday, 15 *March*.—At 5 a.m. made the signal and weighed, as did the *Tyger* and *Salisbury*. At 11 anchored abreast of Barnagull.

Wednesday, 16 *March*.—At 7 a.m. made the signal and weighed. . . . At noon anchored . . . in Suckshaw reach.

Thursday, 17 *March*.—Half past 8 a.m. made the signal and weighed. . . . At noon employed kedging and towing up the river.

Friday, 18 *March*.—Half past 1 p.m. anchored . . . the Dane's flagstaff bearing west by south. Half past 11 weighed.

Saturday, 19 *March*.—Came to . . . in 5 fathoms. Chandernagore flagstaff . . . distant 2 miles. Found riding here His Majesty's ship *Bridgewater* and *Kingsfisher* sloop. At 8 sent the boats manned and armed up the river, at 11 they returned. During the night the enemy hove a number of shells into the town and our troops a number into the Fort. Half past (9) Lieutenant Hey went with a flag of truce to the Fort.

Sunday, 20 *March*.—At 2 p.m. an officer with a flag of truce came on board from Chandernagore. Half past 3 he went away. The *Salisbury* anchored here. Both our troops and the enemy hove several shells in the night.

Monday, 21 *March*.—At 9 sent the carpenter on shore to fix a platform for the guns on a battery erected by Colonel Clive. During this 24 hours our forces and the enemy have exchanged several shot and shells.

Tuesday, 22 *March*.—At 3 p.m. Rear-Admiral Pocock arrived here in his barge and hoisted his flagg on board the *Tyger*. Employed barricading the ship and getting everything ready for action.

Wednesday, 23 *March*.—At 8 p.m. embarked Captain Coote with the

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King's troops and sent the boats manned and armed up the river to prevent any supply going to the Fort during the night. Bombarding on both sides. At 6 a.m. made the signal to weigh. Ditto hove about. Soon after the *Tyger* got under sail. Weighed and slipt the shore fast, which we had for a spring to cast the ship; 5 minutes past our concealed battery was opened on shore and began the attack. At 10 minutes past the enemy first fired at the *Tyger*. A quarter past, being past the sunken ships which the enemy had sunk to prevent our passage, loosed our top-gallant sails and set the jibb and all the staysails. 19 minutes past the *Tyger* began to fire with her bow chace. At 25 minutes past she began to engage with her larboard broadside. At 26 minutes past the enemy began to fire at us. At 38 minutes past the enemy deserted the mudd battery off the water side. At 45 minutes past made the signal to engage. At 7 anchored abreast the south-east bastion, and began the attack; a quarter past 9 the enemy waved a flagg of truce to capitulate. Ditto hauled down the signal for engaging and ceased firing. Employed getting the ship into a more advantageous berth for engaging.

Thursday, 24 *March*, *p.m.*—The French Governour came on board. Disembarked the King's troops and sent all the wounded men to Calcutta Hospital. Half past 4 English colours were hoisted on the Fort. Half past five the Fort fired 21 guns as a salute to His Majesty's colours.

Friday, 1 *April*.—Half past five a.m. weighed and dropt down abreast of Gowgatchy.

3. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Cumberland,' 27 *March and* 24 *April*, 1757.[1]

Sunday, 27 *March*, 1757, *at Culpee*.—The *Mermaid* pilot sloop . . . sailed again for Balasore to destroy the French Factory there.

Sunday, 24 *April*, 1757, *at Culpee*.—Arrived here from Balasore the *Mermaid* pilot sloop with two French prize sloops and Chief and effects of the Factory there.

4. *Remarks from on board His Majesty's ship* 'Tyger.'

(*a*) *The taking of Budge Budgee.*

Wednesday, 29 *December*, 1757.—Embarked all the Company's troops at Fullta and sailed, the *Tyger*, Captain Latham, lead, the *Kent*, Captain

[1] Admiralty Captains' Journals, 4154.

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Speake, Admiral Watson, the *Salisbury*, Captain William Martin, the *Bridgwater*, Captain Henry Smith, *Kingsfisher*, Captain Richard Toby.

Thursday, 30 *December*.—Landed the troops at Mayapore, at half past 6 in the morning got under sail, at 7 the Fort began to fire at us, at three quarters past came to an anchor off Budge Budgee, the Admiral made the signal to engage. Ditto saw from our mastheads Colonel Clive and the enemy's horse engage upon a plain aback of the Fort, at 9 we landed the King's troops which joined Colonel Clive, at 11 the whole army marched down to the water side haveing set the enemy to the rout; we continued fireing briskly on the Fort; they landed two nine pounders and two field pieces from the *Kent*, and made an attempt to mount them to make a breach, but were forced to desist with the loss of several men; at 7 our Second Lieutenant Mr. Morgan was sent on shore with 35 men, Lieutenant Clark from the *Kent*, and Lieutenant Collier from the *Salisbury* with seamen, in all 200, at 8 stormed the Fort, mounted the middle bastion and entered, the enemy made their escape by a breach towards the land; the next morning spiked 24 guns, burnt the carriages and demolished the Fort.

Kent, wounded	...	...	...	4
Tyger, ditto	...	...	...	1
Salisbury, ditto	...	...	...	0

Saturday, 1 *January*, 1757.—At 1 in the afternoon weighed in company the *Kent* only, Admiral Watson, at 4 came too the *Kent* and us. Ditto our Second Lieutenant Mr. Morgan was sent to Muckatana with 30 armed men; they scaled the walls and entered, found nobody in the Fort, they spiked 24 guns, set the houses on fire and blew up their magazine; at the same time Lieutenant Clark from the *Kent* entered the mudd Fort on the opposite side, spiked 23 guns, and set the country on fire; at 7 Lieutenant Morgan was sent with 30 men, Lieutenant Perreau and 30 men from the *Kent*, up the river, at 11 they set fire to four sail at Governor Poors, three of which were moored and lashed together in a narrow channel where the ships must go through; they found them full of combustibles and a large harbour chain on board.

(*b*) *The taking of Calcutta.*

At 6 in the morning landed the Company's troops, at half past 7 weighed in company with the *Kent* only, at 10 we came to an anchor abreast of Fort William as did the *Kent* astern of us; we began fireing at three quarters past 9 and continued till 12 when the Fort left off fireing;

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ditto our Second Lieutenant Mr. Morgan was sent on shore with 50 armed men and hoisted English collours on the north-west angle, as did Lieutenant Clark of the *Kent* at the south-west angle; we received several shot in our hull and rigging.

Kent, killed	...	...	...	0	...	wounded...	...	0
Tyger, ditto	...	...	...	5	...	ditto	...	... 4

(*c*) *The taking of Chandernagore.*

The beginning of March, 1757.—Colonel Clive broke up his camp on Dum Dum plain, crossed the river with his army, and marched to Chandernagore; the 12th of March the Declaration of War with the French was read on board His Majesty's ship *Tyger*; the same day the *Bridgwater* and *Kingsfisher* sailed up the river to cover the landing of our artillery, ammunition, and the 15th the *Kingsfisher* anchored at Cowgotchy, three miles below Chandernagore. Colonel Clive sent his aid de camp to Captain Toby to acquaint him that he was in possession of the town and a half moon battery of eight guns, which was designed for flanking the river, that the French sunk four large ships and a hulk a mile below the town in a narrow channel and had a chain and boom across in order to prevent our going up with the squadron. Captain Toby sent his Second Lieutenant Mr. Bloomer that night who cut the chain and brought off a sloop that buoyed it up. The 15th we sailed in the *Tyger*, Captain Thomas Latham, from Calcutta and lead, Captain Speake, Admiral Watson, the *Kent*, in the center, and *Salisbury*, Captain William Martin, in the rear; the 19th we anchored in sight of Chandernagore; they fired at us from the Fort, their shot fell about a hundred yards short, as did their shells. Colonel Clive came on board and told us that he met with but very little resistance in taking the half moon battery and town, that three or four hundred of their troops sallied out the next day, made an attack but soon retreated in with the loss of eight men, on our side one volunteer and one private man; at 10 that night our Fourth Lieutenant Mr. Colvill and an officer from every other ship, with all boats manned and armed went up above the French Fort, boarded all the French ships, cut them adrift and towed them on shore to prevent the enemy from setting them on fire to burn the squadron. On the tide of ebb, ditto all the pilots sounding over the wrecks. Colonel Clive and the Fort bombarding each other all night, at 9 in the morning of the 20th the Admiral sent an officer with a flag of truce to demand the Fort; at noon the officer returned, at 3 in the afternoon,

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a French flagg of truce went on board of the *Kent*, at 4 the French flagg returned to the Fort; in the evening Colonel Clive and the Fort began bombarding and cannonading each other, and continued all night; on the morning of the 21st an officer and 40 men from the *Bridgwater* came on board of us as an addition to our compliment for the time of the siege; at 2 this afternoon Admiral Pocock arrived in his barge on board the *Kent*, haveing left his ship the *Cumberland* at Ingelee; at 8 we hoisted his flagg on board of us, the Colonel and the Fort engaging as usual; at 9 in the morning of the 22nd, Colonel Clive opened a three gun battery and cannonaded the Fort; at 7 that evening we embarked all the King's troops on board of their respective ships, the Colonel and Fort as usual; at 20 minutes past 5 in the morning of the 23rd we weighed and stood up the river; at half past 5 the *Kent* weighed and stood after us as did the *Salisbury;* ditto the Fort began to fire at us, Colonel Clive opened a six gun battery 24 pounders, and began to cannonade the south-east bastion, and three guns 24 pounders from a battery to the southward, which he played on the flank of the north-east bastion; he made a brisk fire on the south-east and south-west bastions from the top of the houses to the southward of the Fort with his army; at 45 minutes past 5 Admiral Watson hoisted a read flagg at the main topmast head for engageing; ditto we began to fire haveing got through the wrecks; at 6 we came to an anchor abreast of the north-east bastion and took position of a mudd battery that had six guns 24 pounders close to the water side, which did us a great deal of damage in our way up, the enemy haveing fled from it, into the Fort, on our comeing abreast of it; at 5 minutes past 6 the *Kent* came to an anchor abreast of the south-east bastion; the engagement was very hot on all sides, till 40 minutes past 8 o'clock, the enemy threw out a flagg of truce at the north-east bastion, upon which Admiral Watson hauled down the signal and we left of fireing.

After we left of fireing the *Salisbury* went in nearer, being out of reach of the enemy's guns during the action, and of course was of no service to us: at 9 a flagg of truce went on board the *Kent* from the Fort; at 3 in the afternoon Captain Latham went on shore from the *Kent* with the King's troops, and had the keys of the garrison delivered up to him by the French Governor; all in the garrison made prisoners of war. Ditto the English flagg was hoisted on the Fort; we had all our lower masts, bowsprit, bell, coppers, several chain plates, anchors, several guns and gun carriages damaged as to be unfit for service, a most incredible number of shot in our hull; the *Kent's* complaints were much

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the same as ours. Admiral Pocock slightly wounded with splinters, our Master killed, Mr. Perreau Lieutenant of the *Kent* killed, Captain Speake wounded in the leg with a cannon ball, his son's leg shot off with the same ball, of which he died: Mr. Haye Third Lieutenant his leg shot off, of which he died.

Kent, killed	...	21	...	dangerously wounded	...	...	49
Tyger, ditto.	...	14	...	ditto	...	...	50
Salisbury, ditto	...	0	...	ditto	...	...	0

5. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Tyger,' 30 *December*, 1756, *to* 25 *March*, 1757.

Thursday, 30 *December*, 1756.—Saw the Company's troops in the plain (round Budge Budge) aback of the Fort. The *seapoys* marched up under cover of our cannon and took possession of a small battery, then retreated and at 9 landed the detachment of His Majesty's soldiers who in conjunction with the *seapoys* &c. marched into the field and joined the rest of the troops to engage the enemy. At 11 our troops having with the loss of a captain vanquished and put to flight the enemy's army consisting of about 2,000 men and burnt a village, marched to the water side, took possession of another small battery having no guns mounted, and halted under cover of our guns. Continued firing at and annoying the enemy who returned the fire at all opportunities.

Friday, 31 *December*, 1756, *p.m.*—Continued a deliberate fire on the enemy which was by them pretty smartly returned. At 2 the Admiral hauled down the signal for engaging and ceased firing. At half past our troops marched up towards the Fort and exchanged a warm fire with the enemy. At 3 they retreated under cover of a bank near the river side and still continued annoying the enemy who continued a fire upon them and the squadron without intermission. . . . Had a man wounded in the breast with a musket ball. Landed two field pieces and two of the *Kent's* 9 pounders, mounted them in the 2 small batteries abreast of us and cannonaded the Fort. . . . At 7 we landed a Lieutenant, mate, midshipman and 30 seamen *per* order and 7 gentlemen volunteers. At half past 8 the seamen attacked and stormed the Fort, entered a breach in the middle bastion fronting the river and took possession of the Fort with the loss of a Captain who was killed on the spot; the enemy abandoned the Fort and marched out of the back of the Fort. Rowed guard. At half past 3 the guard boat fired two muskets and burnt a false fire as an alarm. Burnt a false fire, sent all our boats manned and

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armed to the guard boat provided with fire grapnels &c., suspecting the alarm to proceed from some fire vessels being dropped down with the tide of ebb by the enemy. Found the boats to be loaded with saltpetre bound to the Dutch ships at Maypore. At 6 a.m. the Fort hoisted the Union flag. Washed and cleaned the ship alow and aloft. The troops ashore employed in demolishing the Fort and removing the ammunition, provisions &c. out of the Fort.

Saturday, 1 *January*, 1757.—P.M., at 5 embarked our *quota* of His Majesty's and the Company's English and Swiss troops. Ditto our forces set fire to all the houses &c. in and about the garrison, having likewise levelled the walls of the Fort as much as time would admit of, carried off all the small cannon, stores and provisions, spiked nine 18 pounders and burnt the carriages. . . . At 11 . . . sent *per* order our boats manned and armed in company with the *Kent's* and *Salisbury's* up the river with an intent to storm the mud Fort opposite to Muckwa Tanner, but found ourselves unable to row up against the tide before daylight. The boats returned at 6 a.m. . . . At half past 10 anchored in Barratuma Reach. . . . Found here a French ship who saluted with nine guns.

Saturday, 2 *January*, 1757.—We then being clear for engaging stood up the river towards Tanner Fort in company with the *Kent*. At 4 anchored at Tanner's Fort and sent on shore an officer and men in our boats to storm the Fort. Found the inhabitants gone. We dismounted 30 pieces of cannon. The *Kent* sent their boats and took possession of a fort on the opposite side of the river in the same manner and found that all the inhabitants had deserted it. At half past weighed and stood up the river towards Calcutta, but being tide of ebb and little wind anchored again with the best bower. At 7 sent an officer and 30 men in our boats armed to destroy the ships that was lying at Governor Pool. At 11 they returned on board having set on fire all the ships and vessels. At 6 a.m. sent all the Company's troops on shore. At 7 sent the barge and long boat to land the *Bridgewater* and *Kingsfisher's* troops. At half past eight weighed and came to sail in company with the *Kent* and stood up towards Calcutta. At 10 anchored with the best bower anchor, but being not in a position for engaging the Fort was obliged to cut the cable and dropped further up to the northward in which time the Fort kept a constant fire on us and killed and wounded several men. At half past 10 anchored with the small bower, veered away and began to engage the enemy. At the same time carried out the stream anchor and a hawser to keep the ship abreast with the Fort. At noon the Fort left off firing.

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Ditto sent an officer and men in the boats armed to take possession of the Fort. Ditto hoisted English colours at Calcutta and Fort William. Landed the King's troops and anchored above us the *Bridgewater* and *Kingfisher* sloop.

Wednesday, March 23, 1757.—At 7 p.m. we embarked a detachment of King's troops. At 8 we hoisted George Pocock Esquire's flag at our mizen topmast head as Rear of the White Squdron. Rowed guard all night. . . . A quarter past 6 a.m. weighed and came to sail as did also the *Kent* and *Salisbury*. Sent the long boat to weigh the stream anchor and in about five minutes we were got through the French sunken ships. Ditto the enemy began to fire on us very hot from the Fort and out battery. Colonel Clive opened his fasheens [? fascine batteries] on them and began to cannonade and bombard to annoy the enemy. At 45 minutes past 6 the Admiral made the signal to engage. At 50 minutes past 6 we anchored . . . and we lay abreast of the Fort the north-east bastion, distance from the shore about twenty paces. At our first fire the enemy deserted the mudd fort by the water side and our soldiers and *seapoys* took possession of it. At 7 o'clock the *Kent* anchored and engaged the south-east bastion; our ship lying in an eddy and lyable to be raked by the enemy we carried out the stream anchor astarn and hove her square with the Fort. At 15 minutes past 7 the *Salisbury* anchored a considerable distance below the *Kent*. At 15 minutes past nine the enemy waved a flag of truce on the north-east bastion and ceased firing. The Admiral hauled down the signal and ceased firing. At half past the Admiral sent Captain Latham on shore with a flag of truce. At half past 11 some French gentlemen went out to the Admiral to treat for capitulation and many truces past and repast. The *Kent* and *Salisbury* hauled nearer the Fort. We lent the *Kent* a hawser. Some ammunition blew up on the north-east bastion, which allarmed us but we soon found it to be an accident. We found here four large Europe ships run on shore.

Thursday, 24 *March*.—At 5 the French Governor delivered the keys of the Fort to Captain Latham. Ditto hoisted English colours. . . . At 10 sent an officer and boats up the river on a secret expedition.

6. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Salisbury,' 4 *to* 6 *February*, 1757.[1]

Friday, 4 *February*, 1757.—At 1 p.m. saw the inhabitants of Calcutta deserting the town and running to the Fort and ships on account of some parties of the Moors Horse coming into town and burning before them.

[1] Admiralty Captains' Journals, 4332.

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Saturday, 5 *February*, 1757.—At 1 a.m. sent all our boats and 120 men to assist in the attacking the Nabob in his camp. At 6 ditto we heard the attack which continued till 10 when our army had beat through the Nabob's camp and passed their trenches and retreated to the Fort William, the Moors being too numerous having near 50,000 men to keep (it) and we about 3,000 men.

Sunday, 6 *February*, 1757.—At 1 p.m. weighed and drove up the river abreast of our camp in order to protect it.

Wednesday, 16 *March*, 1757.—Weighed and came to sail in company *Kent* and *Tyger*.

Sunday, 20 *March*, 1757.—[Anchored three miles from Chandernagore.] Saw the Fort of Chandernagore keep a continual fire on Colonel Clive, who was erecting batteries against it and playing on it with shells and small arms.

Monday, 21 *March*, 1757.—Employed clearing ship for action. The French still keep a constant fire from Chandernagore Fort, the Colonel heaving shells all night into the Fort.

Wednesday, 23.—At 6 a.m. the Admiral made the signal to weigh. Ditto *Kent*, *Tyger* and us. Weighed and stood up towards Chandernagore the *Tyger* leading, then *Kent* and *Salisbury*. At 7 Colonel Clive opened his batteries and played his great guns and small arms from the tops of the houses. Ditto the Fort, keeping a constant fire at both ships and batteries. At 7 the *Tyger* began; at half past we came to, when the Admiral made the signal to engage. At 8 the attack became general both by land and from the ships . . . veered away to bring our guns to bear, and half past 9 our spring was shot away, when we fell head to the Fort. At 10 the French hove out a [flag] of truce and the Admiral made a signal to leave off engaging.

7. *Remarks on board His Majesty's ship* 'Bridgwater.'

(*a*) *The taking of Hughli.*

Wednesday, *January* 5, 1757.—The *Bridgwater*, Captain Henry Smith, *Kingsfisher* sloop, Captain Richard Toby, and *Thunder* bomb, Captain Thomas Warwick, sailed up the river.

Monday, *January* 10.—Att 6 in the morning weighed from abreast of Chincera; we and the sloop fired several shot at Monychong's army who were marching up with an intent to cross the water abreast of Hughly Fort to reinforce the garrison; at 8 anchored abreast of Hughly Town and fired several guns at it, which they returned with musketry;

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at noon Lieutenant Morgan was sent with Lieutenant Lutwich, four boats and 50 men under his command, to prevent Monychong's crossing with his army abreast of the Fort, in which he succeeded haveing only two men wounded in the boat that he was in with musket balls; at 3 in the afternoon the troops were landed, Major Killpatrick with 200 battalion men and 500 *seapoys*, Captain King, Lieutenant Morgan, of the *Tyger*, Lieutenant Lutwich of the *Salisbury*, Lieutenant Clark of the *Kent*, and Lieutenant Hayter of the *Kingsfisher* with 200 seamen; the *Bridgwater*, *Kingsfisher* and *Thunder* bomb weighed and went up the river abreast of the Fort; at 4 they began to fire and bombard the Fort, the ships and Fort kept a constant fire on each other till 2 in the morning of Tuesday the 11th when they found that we had made a breach in the wall; the seamen marched down to the water side with the scaling ladders on their shoulders, the army in the rear; they hailed the ships to cease firing, clapt their ladders too, and mounted the wall; the enemy were deceived by a false attack which was made at the land post gate with our *seapoys*; they entered the Fort where some of our seamen had a small skermidge with the rear of the enemy in their retreating out of the north-west gate.

On shore, killed 3 seamen	...	...	wounded	12
Bridgwater,	ditto	...	...	ditto	3
Kingsfisher,	ditto	...	...	ditto	3
Thunder bomb, ditto 0	...	...	ditto	0

(*b*) *At Bandel.*

Wednesday, 12th, 1757.—At 6 in the morning Lieutenant Morgan with Lieutenant Lutwich, Lieutenant Hayter, 150 seamen, and 10 boats under his command, landed at the Portuguese Church above Hughly, where we was joined by Captain Coote with 100 battalion men and 300 *seapoys*; we saw from the top of the church two miles into the country the Governor of Hughly encamped with the 3,000 men he had in Hughly Fort at the time of our beseageing it; at 7 we marched up to Bandel all but two men in each boat to carry them up; at our arrival we found the town to be full of provisions, which was intended for the Nabob's army who was then on his march for Calcutta. Captain Coote sent some *seapoys* a mile above the town, and burnt down to us; we set the town on fire: the Governor marched his army into a wood, aback of the town; upon our leaveing the town he entered to put the fire out, and fired upon our rear; we drew up abreast of the Portuguese Church, which we took possession of, being clear of a wood, which was all the

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way on our right in our march in hopes they would give us battle; but they thought proper to decline it.

Seapoys, missing	...	...	...	...	2
Soldier, wounded	...	...	...	...	1
Seapoys, ditto...	...	...	...	...	3

(*c*) *The attacking the Nabob's army in camp.*

Saturday, *February* 5, 1757.—At 1 o'clock in the morning Captain Warwick of the *Thunder* bomb landed above the Octagon, haveing under his command Messrs. Morgan, Collins, Lutwich, Perreau, Kirk, and Rive, Lieutenants of His Majesty's ships, with 700 seamen; at 2 we joined Captain Clive in his camp; he had 600 battalion men, 25 artillery men and 1,300 *seapoys;* Captain Warwick quartered 30 seamen to each carriage: we had field pieces 6, tumbrels 3, howitts 1; at 3 we marched the battalion in the van, the seamen with the artillery in the centre, and *seapoys* in the rear: at daylight we fell in with part of the Nabob's army, who were encamped in the plain a mile and a half from his head quarters; the guides haveing lost their road, our intent being to fall in with his head quarters first, they fled their tents and made a running fight of it; upon our entering among the tents Lieutenant Morgan was sent for by Colonel Clive and went ahead of the battalion with two field pieces that Captain Warwick gave him the command of; upon the alarm the Nabob sent 400 of his horse guards to attack us, who bravely stood until every man of them was killed; at 7 it cleared up, we marched on seemingly with an intent to attack in his trenches; as soon as we got abreast of him, the *seapoys* were ordered from the rear to the front, the two guns that Lieutenant Morgan commanded between them and the battalion, all the rest of the artillery in the rear: in this position we marched above two miles, within musket shot of the Nabob's camp, who were all along encamped inside the ditch of the Company's Bounds; we kept a constant fire of great guns and small arms on each other from 9 till 12 when we got into the Fort.

The Nabob's army consisting of 100,000 fighting men horse and foot with 65 cannon.

Seamen, killed	...	16	...	wounded	16
Soldiers, ditto	...	30	...	ditto	45
Gunners, ditto	...	5	...	ditto	0
Seapoys, ditto...	...	20	...	ditto	10

On the enemy's side 1,300 men.

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8. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Bridgewater,' 25 *December*, 1756, *to* 23 *June*, 1757.[1]

Saturday, 25 *December*, *Fulta*.—Found here the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Protector*, *Walpole*, and *Delawar* and several country ships. Sent ashore part of the Company's troops.

Monday, 27 *December*.—Anchored here the *Salisbury*.

Tuesday, 28 *December*.—P.M., barricaded the ship and cleared for engaging. At 8 a.m. disembarked the remainder of the Train of artillery. . . . Embarked 93 officers and men of the Company's troops.

Wednesday, 29 *December*.—Came too below Myapore.

Thursday, 30 *December*.—At 2 p.m. landed the Company's troops.

Friday, 31 *December*.—At 7 p.m. sent a party of seamen ashore to storm the Fort [Budge Budge]. At 9 they got possession of it.

Wednesday, 5 *January*.—At 8 p.m. a pilot came on board. Weighed and dropt up the river in company with the *Kingsfisher*, *Thunder*, several sloops, with the King's troops, Company's Grenadiers, and 400 *seapoys* on board, and the boats of the squadron manned and armed.

Monday, 10 *January*.—At 5 p.m. passed by Chandernagore (the French Factory), found here seven sail of ships and several small vessels. At 8 passed by Chinsura, the Dutch Factory, found here three ships and several small vessels. At 9 came too off Hughley town, took possession of a Moors ship and sent three barges manned and armed to stop an embarkation of some Moors troops from the opposite shore to Hughley Fort. At 10 they returned with several of their men wounded. Fired several shot at a house which the Moors had possession of that overlooked our decks. The *Kingsfisher* and sloops engaged with part of the Moors army.

Tuesday, 11 *January*.—Sent the troops on board the prize. At 4 p.m. sent two 3 pounders to be landed with the troops and left the *Kingsfisher* to cover them. Weighed and dropt up to the Fort. At half past the enemy fired at us. At 5 anchored and made the signal and engaged. half past the *Kingfisher* dropt up and engaged. Half past 7 left off firing and sent the seamen ashore to join the soldiers. The enemy kept a continual fire on us with their musketry. At 11 began to batter for a breach. At 2 a.m. having compleated it left off firing, and the seamen and soldiers stormed and got possession of the Fort. In the storm they

[1] Admiralty Captains' Journals, 3794.

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had one midshipman and four seamen killed, one midshipman, several seamen and *seapoys* wounded. We had on board one killed, six wounded and our rigging much cut. Sent the wounded to Calcutta.

Wednesday, 12 *January*.—Employed getting off some goods and the guns.

Thursday, 13 *January*.—Employed getting off guns and goods.

Sunday, 16 *January*.—Embarked the troops, weighed and dropt up the river with the tide to Bandell. At 10 anchored . . . as did the *Kingsfisher*, and began to fire at the town. Sent some seamen and *seapoys* to the opposite shore and set fire to their houses and boats.

Monday, 17 *January*.—At 1 p.m. left off firing. At 4 began again. Half past left off, landed the troops and seamen and set fire to the town. At 6 embarked them. Had three seamen and some *seapoys* killed and several wounded. At 6 a.m. weighed and dropt down with the ebb tide in company with the *Kingsfisher* and sloops. At 8 came to . . . below Hughly Fort.

Tuesday, 18 *January*.—Sent the sick and wounded down to Calcutta. a.m. weighed and dropt higher up. Sent a party of seamen and *seapoys* to burn the enemy's houses and boats.

Wednesday, 19 *January*.—Sent the European troops down to Calcutta. The seamen and *seapoys* employed destroying the country.

Thursday, 20 *January*.—Employed as before.

Friday, 21 *January*.—Sent an officer to Chinsura and took some Moors vessels.

Saturday, 22 *January*.—At 4 p.m. weighed and dropt down with the ebb.

Sunday, 23 *January*.—At 8 a.m. came to off Bankabuzar. Sent the seamen and *seapoys* ashore to destroy the town.

Monday, 24 *January*.—At 10 a.m. came to off Perreens Garden.

Friday, 4 *February*, *p.m.*—Being alarmed by the Nabob's army appearing near the town embarked all the sick men from the hospital.

Saturday, 5 *February*.—At 11 p.m. sent from the squadron 500 seamen under the command of Captain Warrick to join our troops in camp. At 11 a.m. the soldiers and seamen marched into the Fort, having marched through the Nabob's camp, put them in great confusion. Killed 1,300 men and a great number of horses, cattle, elephants and camels. We had several men killed and wounded.

Thursday, 23 *June*.—At 1 p.m. fired twenty-one guns, being the anniversary of His Majesty's accession to the throne.

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9. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Thunder,' *bomb,* 16 *and* 17 *January,* 1757.[1]

Sunday, 16 *January,* 1757.—Dropt up the river to Bandel. At 10 anchored as did the *Kingsfisher* and began to fire on the town. Set fire to their houses and boats.

Monday, 17 *January,* 1757.—At 1 p.m. left off firing, landed the troops and seamen and set fire to the town. At 6 embarked them. At 6 a.m. weighed and dropt down the river in company the *Kingsfisher* and sloops and *Bridgewater.* At 8 anchored below Hughley Fort.

10. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Kingfisher' (*Captain James Rowe*), 10 *to* 25 *January,* 1757.[2]

Monday, 10 *January,* 1757.—Anchored just below Hughly. At 11 the *Bridgewater* began to engage the Fort, which they returned with small arms. Sent our soldiers out of the ship.

Tuesday, 11 *January,* 1757.—At noon a party of horse came down and fired severall volleys of small arms at us and we fired guns and small arms at them. At 3 p.m. dropt further up. At half past 4 p.m. anchored in four fathoms to cover our men at their landing. At 5 the *Bridgewater* made the signal to engage, weighed and went above the *Bridgewater* in five fathoms, began to engage the Fort. At night set fire to several parts of the outhouses.

Wednesday, 12 *January,* 1757.—At 10 p.m. our seamen and soldiers stormed the Fort and drove the Moors out of ditto.

Thursday, 13 *January,* 1757.—Sent some men ashore to assist in getting the plunder on board and setting fire to the houses and Fort.

Saturday, 15 *January,* 1757.—Read the Articles of War against the *Sabash* of Bengal.

Sunday, 16 *January,* 1757.—At 1 p.m. weighed and dropt down again. At 5 the soldiers embarked. At 9 we and the *Bridgewater* went further up the river. We fired several shot at the enemy in order to dislodge them, sent men on shore to set fire to their houses.

Monday, 17 *January,* 1757.—At 3 p.m. sent the troops on board the *Bridgewater.* At half past the *Bridgewater* and our sloop began to cannonade the town of Condia. At 4 landed the troops. At half past they set the town on fire. At 6 we left off firing. At half past our men embarked.

[1] Admiralty Captains' Journals, 4368.
[2] Admiralty Masters' Logs, 912.

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At 6 a.m. dropt down the river. At 8 a.m. anchored at Hughly Fort.

Wednesday, 19 *January*, 1757.—Landed (the *seapoys*) on shore to set the houses on fire along shore.

Tuesday, 25 *January*, 1757.—Dropt down to Calcut [*i.e.*, Calcutta].

11. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Delaware'[1] (*Captain Thomas Winter*), 21 *July*, 1756, *to* 30 *January*, 1757.

Wednesday, 21 *July*, 1756.—At half past noon the Captain and Major Kilpatrick with his military officers came on board. At 1 weighed and saluted the Fort.

Wednesday, 28 *July*, 1756.—At 9 a.m. came too at Culpee. p.m. sent two officers and thirty private men in the schooner to Fulta. Cleared ship fore and aft.

Saturday, 31 *July*, 1756.—Came down one of the Honourable Company's sloops, Scott master, with one of the officers sent up to Fulta in the schooner, as also a schooner for Major Kilpatrick who went on board with thirty-five private men for Fulta. Departed this life Richard McManus gunner.

Monday, 2 *August*, 1756.—Made sail for Fulta, Scott the pilot being on board, our people sickly.

Wednesday, 4 *August*, 1756.—Got up to the shipping in Fulta. Found riding here the *Fort William*, *Dodaly* and sundry other country ships and vessels, but the late inhabitants of Calcutta were greatly distressed and almost destitute of cloathing.

Thursday, 5 *August*, 1756.—In the morning Captain Sampson with a command of soldiers was sent on board the *Success* gally, a country built ship and which arrived not in time to be of any assistance to the distressed inhabitants when obliged to abandon Calcutta, till their coming down to this place.

Friday, 6 *August*, 1756.—Departed this life Mr. Canham Underwood chief mate. The natives have not as yet attempted to molest us here.

Saturday, 7 *August*, 1756.—As the troops in general begin to grow sickly, and from the number of our own people being in that condition, a survey was ordered to be made by Major Kilpatrick and the late Governor &c. of Calcutta by the commanders and principal officers of the shipping on the sloops lying here to see if any could be made to

[1] The *Delaware* had ninety men on board, of whom twenty-three died at Fulta or Culpee.

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serve as hospitals, but none was thought proper for that purpose. Employed in clearing as much as possible between decks for the benefit of air. Carpenter employed in making flagg staffs for the *Fort William* on board which ship Roger Drake Esq. and family resides.

Monday, 9 *August.*—In the morning the late Governour and Council of Calcutta came on board. Sent the third mate with ten hands on board the *Mermaid* sloop to proceed to Culpee in order to buy provisions. Our people greatly disordered and many incapable of duty.

Tuesday, 10 *August.*—Sent our pinnace with ten hands on board the *Seahorse* sloop.

Friday, 13 *August.*—This day a Council was held on shore. Our people become very sickly.

Saturday, 14 *August.*—Came on board the Dutch Fiscal from Chintsera. A detachment of 70 soldiers under the command of Captain Campbell were in the afternoon sent on shore to forage, but the assurances of being supplied at present from the Dutch Fiscal, they were ordered on board their respective ships again.

Sunday, 15 *August.*—Departed this life George Patterson, seaman. The Dutch Fiscal returned to Chintsera.

Wednesday, 18 *August.*—Captain Campbell with four of our people went on board the *Mermaid* sloop with a packet to be put on board the *Bombay* frigate (Captain Pretty) at Indialee for Madras.

Thursday, 19 *August.*—Departed this life one of the Honourable Company's soldiers.

Saturday, 21 *August.*—Came up also a Prussian pinnace, who left their ship on shore on the Barabulla Sand, and it is believed cannot be gotten off. This day the late Governor of Calcutta and some other gentlemen dined on board and were saluted as usual.

Sunday, 22 *August.*—Arrived the *Bonetta* sloop, as also the *Mermaid* with Captain Campbell and our people from Indialee. Departed this life Francis Shekelton, caulker.

Monday, 23 *August.*—Departed this life one of the Honourable Company's soldiers.

Tuesday, 24 *August.*—Sent six [casks] on board the *Bombay* grabb. Captain Godwin was ordered by the Major on shore with two field pieces, stores, &c.

Wednesday, 25 *August.*—Sent [thirteen casks] on board the *Fort Saint George* sloop.

Thursday, 26 *August.*—Arrived here the fleet from Dacca with the Chief, Mr. Becher, the other gentlemen and people.

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Saturday, 28 *August*.—Arrived the *Seahorse* sloop which had been sent to assist the Prussian ship now become a wreck.

Sunday, 29 *August*.—Departed this life one of the Honourable Company's soldiers.

Monday, 30 *August*.—Departed this life Abraham Harris, boatswain's mate. About half past 9 p.m. a large French ship fell on board the *Dodaly* and did her some damage. When clear of her, she dropped alongside of us, carried away her own jibb boom and fore top gallant mast, but did us no damage, after which she dropped clear of the shipping below us, and came to anchor with the last she had to let go, having before three times parted her cable.

Wednesday, 1 *September*.—Departed this life one of the Honourable Company's soldiers. Departed this life on shore at his tent, Captain Sampson.

Saturday, 4 *September*.—Sailed hence the *Orange Tree* sloop. Sent all the sick soldiers on shore.

Tuesday, 7 *September*.—Anchored here the *Syren* sloop from Vizagapatam.

Friday, 10 *September*.—Departed this life on board one of the Honourable Company's sergeants, as also on shore Lieutenant Herdman and a corporal of the Train. Our own people very ill in general.

Sunday, 12 *September*.—Departed this life John Plummer, servant to the chief mate, also Thomas Byers seaman, Captain Godwin of the Train on board us, and Domingo Wittal our sailmaker. On board the *Lively* ketch—Best the captain; on board other vessels Lieutenant Bogar of the military and Mr. Walket [*i.e.*, Walcot] not long since returned from being prisoner to the Moors.

Monday, 13 *September*.—Departed this life John Dubourdieu, surgeon's mate. Sent all our soldiers on shore, a general review being to be made, after which they returned on board. Departed this life Francis Ferraro seaman, as did also Benjamin Jones.

Tuesday, 14 *September*.—Our seaman and soldiers, both very sickly, an unhappy circumstance especially in an enemy's country, and but few of us, in the whole, admit we were well.

Wednesday, 15 *September*.—Departed this life James Murphy . . . and Andrew Fife, midshipman.

Thursday, 16 *September*.—Shipped six *lascars*.

Friday, 17 *September*.—Anchored here the ship *Wellcome* [Captain] Bayley from Bombay. Shipped six *lascars* more.

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Saturday, 18 *September*.—Sailed down the river the Honourable Company's yacht.

Thursday, 23 *September*.—The Governour and Council having at last fixed on the *Success* galley for an hospital ship the most of the sick soldiers were sent from the shore on board her.

Sunday, 26 *September*.—Departed this life Robert Roberts, quartermaster.

Saturday, 2 *October*.—Received on board a chest of treasure, belonging to the estate of Captain Coatsworth of the *Speedwell* lately deceased. Departed this life Griffy Griffith, joyner.

Wednesday, 6 *October*.—Arrived here the *Anna Dolla* snow from Patta.

Monday, 11 *October*.—Shipped some Prussian seamen.

Friday, 22 *October*.—Sent all the military on shore by order of the Major and on board the *Dodaly*.

Saturday, 23 *October*.—In the morning had advice of His Majesty's ship *King's Fisher* being arrived at Kedgeree from Admiral Watson. Sent the third mate in the pinnace to assist her in coming up. At midnight the pinnace returned from the *King's Fisher*, from whence we learn that the Admirals Watson and Pocock with the whole squadron and a large number of land forces under Colonel Clive are daily expected to arrive in the Road, to our great joy and satisfaction.

Sunday, 24 *October*.—This morning a flagg staff was erected on shore and the British flagg hoisted, which we saluted with nine guns. It is situated without the Dutch bounds. Sent the pinnace to the *King's Fisher's* assistance; which returned about 2 p.m. When the sloop belonging to His Majesty came round the Point, saluted her with thirteen guns. At 10 p.m. the sloop of war parted her cable, hoisted a light and fired a gun for assistance, sent our boat, as did the most of the shipping to assist her. At 12 they returned the sloop being safe.

Monday, 25 *October*.—At sun rising saluted with eleven guns which the sloop of war returned. The reason for not returning it yesterday was on our omitting to strike the pendant. In the evening one of the Honourable Company's soldiers fell out of a boat alongside and was unfortunately drowned.

Wednesday, 27 *October*.—Richard York, butcher, lying asleep in the starboard gangway he accidentally fell overboard and was lost.

Thursday, 28 *October*.—Sent on shore two field pieces with their carriages, ammunition &c. Departed this life Thomas Clodd seaman.

Friday, 29 *October*.—Departed this life Joseph Davies seaman.

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Friday, 5 *November*.—This day fired nineteen guns on account of the anniversary of the Powder Plot.

Wednesday, 10 *November*.—This being the anniversary of His Majesty's birthday saluted with eleven guns.

Thursday, 18 *November*.—P.M. An alarm was made on shore, it being reported that a large body of Moors was very near to Fulta, cleared ship &c. but the cause of this alarm was entirely groundless.

Friday, 19 *November*.—In the evening received on board a black prisoner under a file of musketeers. [Sent ashore next day.]

Sunday, 28 *November*.—Departed this life Paul Davies seaman.

Monday, 6 *December*.—Departed this life Stephen Brice, captain's steward.

Thursday, 9 *December*.—Advice arrived of the Honourable Company's ship *Protector* with troops &c. being in the river.

Friday, 10 *December*.—The *seapoys* from the ship *Protector* arrived here.

Sunday, 12 *December*.—Anchored here the Honourable Company's ship *Protector*. The Admiral and part of the squadron arrived.

Tuesday, 14 *December*.—The *Walpole* Indiaman arrived here. Saluted the Admiral with seventeen guns, as did the rest of the fleet, which was returned with seventeen.

Wednesday, 15 *December*.—The *Tyger* came too here.

Friday, 17 *December*.—The *Kingsfisher* made sail up the river.

Monday, 20 *December*.—Departed this life Christopher Roney seaman.

Tuesday, 21 *December*.—This day received from Admiral Watson orders and instructions to obey his signals.

Friday, 24 *December*.—Anchored here His Majesty's ship *Bridgewater*.

Saturday, 25 *December*.—Anchored here His Majesty's ship *Salisbury*.

Tuesday, 28 *December*.—By order of the Admiral thirty people were required to serve on board the *Tyger* man of war. Accordingly Mr. Adams with twenty-nine of our men went, though exceeding the number stipulated by charter party. At 2 p.m. the Admiral with the rest of the ships of war weighed and went up the river, the land forces all on board the ships and boats, except the *seapoys* which marched by land.

Thursday, 30 *December*.—About 8 a.m. heard a very brisk firing of cannon, supposed at Budge Buzee, a strong fortress belonging to the Moors, which soon after slackened a little, but the report of guns firing at intervals was heard till the evening.

Friday, 31 *December*.—By advices received here we learn that Admiral Watson with the ships of war and Colonel Clive with the

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land forces, attacked yesterday morning Budge Buzee, a surprising strong place had it been to have been defended by Europeans, but notwithstanding 'twas almost 8 p.m. before they became masters of the fort &c. The batterys indeed to the water side were soon demolished. Captain Dugald Campbell of the Madras detachment is killed, our loss otherwise inconsiderable.

1757. *Sunday*, 2 *January*.—Heard a brisk firing of cannon for almost an hour, supposed at Calcutta, it being reported here that Tanna's Fort and battery, at the approach of the ships of war, were abandoned.

Monday, 3 *January*.—The firing yesterday heard was at Calcutta, which place the Moors soon abandoned, not capable of standing the fire from the *Kent* and *Tyger* only.

Wednesday, 5 *January*.—This day all our people except William Langford who is wounded, returned from the man of war, came down [in] the longboat from Calcutta, but James Cowen one of her crew was unfortunately, as supposed, drowned. Came on board the pilot and unmoored ship.

Monday, 10 *January*.—Dropped up to Calcutta.

Wednesday, 12 *January*.—This day received advice of the Declaration of War against France on the 17th May, 1756.

Sunday, 30 *January*.—At noon weighed and dropped down the river.

12. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Marlborough' (*Captain Alex. Macleod*).

19 *January*, 1757.—Anchored off Calcutta.

2 *February*, 1757.—Sailed hence the *Syren* sloop (Jones) for England.

3 *February*, 1757.—This day the Nabob came down with an army consisting of —— and pitched his camp near the bounds of the town at Hamel Johns[1] Gardens about one and a half miles off.

4 *February*, 1757.—Flying parties of the Nabob's army set fire to the outskirts of the town and made a general alarm. The inhabitants flocked down to the water side and gott off on board the ships and we fired severall shott at them while they were burning opposite to us, which dispersed them.

5 *February*, 1757.—At 11 a.m. by an order from Admiral Watson sent our longboat manned and armed on board his ship. At midnight all the longboats went from alongside of ditto having about 450 seamen in them. At half past 1 p.m. landed them opposite to our camp. About

[1] A sailor's rendering of 'Omichund.'

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3 joined the camp where we found the whole army under arms. About half past 4 a.m. Colonel Clive at the head of five hundred European soldiers, two thousand[1] *seapoys* and six hundred seamen marched out in order to attack the Nabob's camp, consisting of fifty thousand fighting men and six thousand *cooleys*, attendants, and a Train of artillery of thirty pieces of cannon. At daylight entered the camp where we met with a very warm reception for about eight minutes in which time we had several killed. They giving way we advanced, laying waste on both sides and fairly drove them out of their camp. Their loss in —— great ——. Ours is small considering the numbers they had to oppose us. We lost two field pieces, the carriages being broke by the shott from their batteries. At 11 the Colonel ordered a retreat into town which performed with great order. At 12 march into the Fort. At 6 that afternoon marched out to the camp again in sight of the Nabob's army. We having made such havock amongst them in the morning it had struck such a terror into them that not being recovered of their pannick they let us pass without molestation. [It is uncertain what loss they have suffered but there remained on the field of battle a great number of horses, camels, several elephants wounded, their dead they immediately buried. Our loss is very considerable, 139 killed and wounded, among which were Captain Pye, Captain of the Company's Grenadiers, Major Bridges and Mr. Belcher, secretary to the Colonel. We found none of their bodies, the slain being so barbarously disfigured that it is impossible to know them. We are preparing to give them another nocturnal visit. The Nabob sent a flag of truce the next day, the conditions were before any treaty and which he has accordingly done, and has taken care to get the Salt Water Lake twixt him and us.]

6 *February*, 1757.—We fired several guns in the night, the enemy being burning houses opposite the ship.

7 *February*, 1757.—Fired several guns in the night to disperse the flying parties of the enemy who are still burning.

8 *February*, 1757.—The enemy still very troublesome.

9 *February*, 1757.—This day the Nabob sent to Colonel Clive proposals for a treaty of peace. The Colonel answered that before he would treat with him at any rate he must draw his army farther off or if he suffered his flying parties to annoy the inhabitants he would certainly pay him another visit. The Nabob on this marched the main of his army about four leagues further off and a Peace concluded soon.

[1] All these figures are entered in a different hand; so is the concluding portion in brackets.

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18 *February*, 1757.—Sent our longboat to assist in transporting the troops to the other side the river, intending to encamp there.

13. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Walpole' (*Captain Francis Fowler*).

Monday, 13 *December*, 1756.—[Arrived at Culpee.]

Tuesday, 14 *December*.—Sent six chests of treasure on board the *Dragon* Captain Campbell.

Saturday, 8 *January*, 1757.—Dropt up to Calcutta.

Thursday, 3 *February*, 1757.—At noon the *Tyger* made a signal of alarm. Sent the boats ashore which returned with several women both black and white with their lumber at 4 p.m. The Admiral made a signal for boats manned and armed. Sent them ashore to take care of the King's stores and carry them on board the *Kent*. At 5 saw a fire at Gobernor Pores and the *Marlborough* fired several shotts.

Friday, 4 *February*.—The Admiral sent for our longboat manned and armed to go to camp.

Saturday, 5 *February*.—The people returned from the longboat. At the same time the Fort fired a gun as an alarm. Found it to be our own army obliged to make a retreat into the Fort.

Friday, 18 *February*.—Sent the longboat to assist the army in crossing the river at Barnagull.

Thursday, 24 *February*.—Weighed and dropt down to Gobernor Pore.

14. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Edgcote.'

Thursday, 16 *December*, 1756.—Weighed and made sail [from Bombay] in company with the *Portfield*.

Monday, 16 *May*, 1757.—[Sighted the *Chesterfield*.]

Sunday, 29 *May*, 1757.—Supracargoes &c. went on shore (near Cape Kerry).

15. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Portfield.'

Saturday, 28 *May*, 1757.—Anchored at Foins Island.

Sunday, 29 *May*.—At 11 p.m. yesterday despatched the purser with the Honourable Company's packet.

16. *Extracts from Log of the* 'Chesterfield.'

Sunday, 29 *May*.—At half past midnight sent away the fourth with the Company's packetts.

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17. *Extracts from News from Bengall relating to the taking of Chandernagore, 23 March, 1757.*

The men-of-war being moved within a couple of miles of Chandernagore, were every night endeavouring with their boats' crews to weigh and cut adrift the four vessels the French had sunk athwart the river to obstruct our passage; what they effected in this I am uncertain, but on the 23rd about 5 in the morning, the *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Salisbury* weighed and passed between them without the least impediment or appearance of danger; a little after six the engagement began from the ships; but it should have been observed the Colonel began much earlier in the morning with them and had almost battered down the corner of the south-east bastion before the ships arrived within shot of the Fort: the design of the mask-battery the Colonel had threwn up was purposely to take off the fire from the ships as they passed up, and it really had its good effect for the enemy fired but very little on them till they were abreast of the Fort; the ships soon repaid them their kindness, for in my life I never saw such an effusion of fire as was thrown out from the *Kent* and *Tyger* for the space of two hours. The *Salisbury* indeed was not abreast of the Fort for a considerable while after the other two, I believe it might be half an hour, but she played her part pretty well during the time I staid by the river-side. The action lasted full three hours, when the Messieurs thought proper to throw out a flag of truce for the preservation of life. Upon the Admiral's sending them a summons on the 20th or 21st instant to surrender they were very stout; they gave us to understand, there were two parties in the Factory, the Renaultions and the Anti-Renaultions, the former, which they called the Great Wigged Gentry or Councellors, were for giving up the Fort, but the others vowed they would die in the breach. To these high and lofty expressions the Admiral could give no other answer than that in a very few days (or hours perhaps) he would give them a very good opportunity of testifying their zeal for the Company and the Grand Monarque, and accordingly the 23rd instant about nine in the morning we silenced them, and got in possession the same evening. There were some few Articles stipulated, the particulars I cannot remember now. Our losses have been very great, and we have never yet obtained a victory at so dear a rate; perhaps you will hear of few instances where two ships have met with greater damage than the *Kent* and *Tyger* in this engagement. In the *Kent's* hull are full one hundred and fifty shot, many of them through both sides, five shot in our

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new main-mast, as many I believe in the mizen, and the rigging cut up to junk, nineteen men killed on the spot, and forty-nine wounded, four of which have died since and many more are supposed to be mortal; the *Tyger* has been handled much the same in proportion to her size and complement. In the fort were 800 fighting men; they attempted at a sally on our military two or three nights before the ships came up, but very unsuccessfully, the Colonel gave them such close attendance. The effects taken in the town and Fort will amount to something considerable to the captors. The agents are Messrs. Doidge and Macket for the squadron, and George Clive, Amyatt and Maunsell for the military; the dividend was agreed upon at Fultah, before we attacked any place in the river, half to the squadron and half to the army, that might be taken either by sea or land.

The *Cumberland* is arrived at Ingellee, and Mr. Pocock got up just time enough to hoist his flag on board the *Tyger* and get a rap on the shins from the splinters of the same ball that killed poor old Phillips the master of the *Tyger*. The *Cumberland* is got up as far as Culpee and to remain there. The Colonel is decamped from the south-west of Chandernagore and pitched again on a plain about midway between that and Chinchura. The Dutch are so terrified that they will scarce open their doors to the French; they refused long ago to receive any of their goods and effects: our boats are almost all sent manned and armed thirty or forty miles up the river, after French sloops, boats and *budgerows*. They bring down some little prize or other every tide; it all adds to the heap. But surely the spirit of plundering never was more in vogue; I hope yesterday's execution of three black fellows will put some stop to it. To-morrow a serjeant, one Nover belonging to the 39th regiment, and one private soldier will be shot for the breaking open and stealing out of the Treasury 3,000 rupees. Indeed the Messieurs themselves deserve but very little mercy from us for their mean behaviour in setting fire to so many bales of cloth and raw silk in the Fort but a very few minutes before we entered; and it grieves us much to see such a number of stout and good vessels sunk with their whole cargoes far above the Fort, which is a great loss to us and no profit to them. Those indeed below to hinder our passage were necessary, the others were merely through mischief. But notwithstanding this they scarcely ask a favour from the Admiral, but it's granted. From the letters that have lately passed between the Nabob and us, we have great reason to hope he will not skreen them at all at Cassimbuzar or Dacca. I only wish the Colonel does not alarm him too

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much by moving with the army to the northward. I do assure you, he is so sufficiently frightened that he had rather encounter the new *Mogul* himself than accept our assistance, though he strenuously begged for it about three weeks ago. He writes word he need no fuller assurances of our friendship for him, when a single letter brought us so far on the road to Muxadavad as Chandernagore. He gives us to understand now the affair with the great *Mogul* is compromised, and begs above all things we would give ourselves no further trouble.

I need not tell you what artifices and how many of them the French made use of to win him over to their assistance. First that they had now coming up from Golconda (and very near Chandernagore) Bussie with 40,000 men, that they had already killed the Colonel, Major and Keyzer Sing, the chief of our *sepoys*, and as for the men-of-war they could not stir an inch higher; the second part of this was so credited by the Nabob that he sent down some man of note to inquire into the truth of it, but upon a true report to him of the good life of each he sat down and trembled and never dared interfere.

I have now told you almost every particular of this affair except one, and it would not be perfect unless I mentioned that I chuse to postpone it to the last, as it is very disagreeable. It is the loss of our friends in the *Kent*, but not entirely, only as to *their friends*, I mean their limbs; the aid-de-camps, or rather as we call them on board the people that pass the word, were young Speke, Marriott and Adams. In short the last of these was the only one that was left with the Admiral on the quarter-deck; for one shot took off Captain Speke's calf of his left legg, and struck off Billy Speke's thigh; as soon as one got up he saw the other, and a shocking sight it was. Billy bore it very courageously, and the other was no more concerned for himself but said, 'Father and son at one time and with one shot is hard indeed.' One would have staid on the deck, and the other wanted to be dressed in the Admiral's cabbin, but the Admiral insisted on their being taken down to the surgeon. Sam Perreau the First Lieutenant of the *Kent* was then called up; he had not been long there but a cannon-ball took him off instantly. Jack Clerke our second was left behind ill at Calcutta. Mr. Key, who came out of the *Cumberland* with Mr. Pocock and our third, came up next, and long before the engagement was over had a ball that took off his thigh; two or three cartridges of powder took fire between decks on board the *Kent* and blew up many; but (thank God) no other accident happened, though it was full near the magazine.

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Mr. Pocock is still very lame and swelled about the legs, but not greatly hurt; the splinters flew so thick about him, that he was scratched most shockingly and covered with blood from head to foot.

18. *Journal of the expedition to Bengal from October* 13, 1756, *to February* 18, 1757, *kept by one of Colonel Clive's family.*[1] 13 *October*, 1756 *to* 18 *February*, 1757.

Oct. 13.—This day all the forces consisting of 276 of the King's troops, 616 of the Company's, 1,048 *seapoys* and 260 *lascars* destined for the expedition, embarked on board the respective ships in the following manner *viz.*:

	King's Troops.	Company's Troops.	Sepoys and Lascars.
King's ships:			
Kent	65	77	59
Cumberland	97	150	67
Tyger	56	146	70
Salisbury	58	147	57
Bridgwater	—	96	—
Company's ships:			
Walpole	—	—	413
Marlborough	—	—	360
Protector	—		132
Lapwing snow	—	—	90
Bonetta ketch	—	—	60
	276	616	1,308

Oct. 16.—This day the fleet under the command of Vice Admiral Watson consisting of the above King's ships, the *Blaze* fire-ship, and the two Indiamen being victualled and watered for six weeks sailed from Madrass.

Nov. 6.—Since sailing from the above port have been drove by the current into the latitude of 6°36′ N. occasioned by the baffling winds and calms usual at this season of the year.

Nov. 10.—The appearance of a tedious passage obliged the squadron to be put to two-thirds allowance.

[1] This is the same in substance as the Journal transmitted by Colonel Clive with his letter to the Court of Directors, dated February 23, 1757 (see Fort Saint George Sel. Com., 24 Feb. and 18 Ap., 1757). It is also very similar to a 'Journal of the Proceedings of the Troops Commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive on the Expedition to Bengal' in Orme MSS. O.V. 20,1-9 and 19-33, signed 'J. C.,' of which an extract is given below, probably by Captain Maskelyne, or possibly George Clive.

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Nov. 13.—This night the *Salisbury* sprung a leak which kept all her pumps going to free her, and after making the signal of distress, the carpenter of the *Kent* and other ships were sent on board who found out the leak and in some measure stopped it, so that she was able to proceed on the voyage under an easy sail upon her foremast, as the leak was discovered to be in the wooden ends forwards.

Nov. 14.—A Council of War being held on board the *Kent* concerning the *Salisbury's* proceeding, it was agreed that the military, as well King's as Company's, should be transported on board the *Kent*, *Cumberland* and *Tyger*, and they to replace the number out of the *seapoys*[1] and *lascars* they had on board, the *Salisbury* to proceed with the fleet as far as the safety of the ship would permit and in case of necessity to bear away for Point de Gaul.

Nov. 15.—The *Salisbury* made but little water, so that the hand-pumps kept her free, which induced the Admiral to defer the removal of the troops as it was thought she might proceed on her voyage with the fleet; this day the seamen and military were put to half allowance of provisions, and two-third allowance of water. The scurvy began to appear in the fleet particularly amongst the seamen.

Nov. 16.—The *Marlborough* Indiaman sailing very heavy and the passage already long, the fleet proceeded without shortening sail for her, she having orders to join the squadron with all expedition at the place of *rendezvous* which was Ballasore Road, and lost sight of her in the evening. The squadron began to be very sickly. The *Blaze* fireship being leaky was ordered to bear away for Point de Gaul and from thence proceed to Bombay.

Dec. 1.—This day struck ground off Point Palmiras being only six ships in company, having seen nothing of the *Marlborough* since the 16th November. About 8 p.m. the 2nd, *Cumberland* struck upon the reef off Point Palmiras, but was soon got off without any damage, the ship came to an anchor and lay till daylight; after making the signal of distress the fleet came to an anchor some in seven, some in five and others in four fathoms water upon the edge of this dangerous shoal.

Dec. 3rd.—The *Kent* being the weathermost ship weighed and rounded the shoal, the point then bearing south by west, the *Tyger* and *Walpole* also weighed south, rounded the shoal in four fathom; the other ships endeavoured to weigh but parted their cables and stood off.

[1] N.B.—Seapoys are the soldiers of the country, armed and disciplined after the European manner. Lascars are labouring men, chiefly employed in the Artillery service (Brit. Mus. Ad. MS. 35,917).

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Dec. 4th.—Saw a pilot sloop standing towards us who put on board Mr. Grant the pilot; the *Tyger* and *Walpole* only in sight. The squadron was in great distress for water and provisions,[1] having only eight days' water on board and numbers down with the scurvy.

Dec. 8th.—Received some rice from the pilot sloop which was put on board the *Walpole*, she being in the greatest want of provisions. This day Messrs. Watts and Becher came on board as deputies from the Governor and Council to wait on the Admiral and Colonel Clive; they informed them of the sickly state of the remaining gentlemen of Calcutta and the party under Major Kilpatrick, of which only thirty men fit for duty.

Dec. 9th.—This day passed the Braces and anchored in company with the *Tyger* and *Walpole* in the kiln;[2] and had no account of the remainder of the squadron, notwithstanding a sloop was despatched some days since to the point in order to look for them.

Dec. 12th.—Arrived at Ingerlee.

Dec. 13th.—Anchored at Culpee in company with the *Tyger* and *Walpole*, when Mr. Drake the Governor and Mr. Holwell waited upon the Admiral and Colonel Clive and confirmed the account of the sickness at Fulta.

Dec. 15th.—Anchored at Fulta in company with the *Tyger* and *Walpole*, where we found riding at anchor the *Kingsfisher* sloop, the *Delawar* Indiaman and about twelve sail of country ships, snows; and the Governor, Council and the remainder of inhabitants of Calcutta lived on board the country ships and the military under Major Kilpatrick were cantoned in huts ashore.

Dec. 16th.—The Company's troops and *seapoys* on the *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Walpole* landed at Fulta, where they joined the detachment under Major James Kilpatrick; the military encamped in a plain to the eastward of the town, and the *seapoys* were posted at the avenues leading to it.

Dec. 22nd.—The Grenadier and Artillery companies from the *Salisbury* and *Bridgwater* joined the battalion in camp where the whole continued till the 27th.

Dec. 27th.—When the Artillery reimbarked in the same order pursuant to the resolution of a Council of War held on board the *Kent;* but the *seapoys* marched over land keeping the ships in view and Captain

[1] *Scrafton* in his Letters (p. 11) says many of the *seapoys* died of want of food, as they refused to touch the meat provided for the British soldiers, for fear of breaking their caste.

[2] 'N.B.—Kiln is a space of water between two Braces' (Brit. Mus., Ad. MS. 35, 917).

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Barker following in boats with 80 of the Train and two field pieces properly compleated.

Dec. 28*th.*—About three in the afternoon the troops and two field pieces were disembarked at Moyapore, where they joined the *seapoys* and at 5 in the evening marched to the northward in order to throw themselves into the road leading from the Fort of Bougee Bougee to Aligur and Calcutta and by that means cut off the enemy's retreat to those places, agreeable to the plan concerted at the Council of War. This was effected with infinite labour and fatigue by a continued march all night, which was made difficult by the deep creeks and morasses the troops and cannon were obliged to pass.

Dec. 29*th.*—At 8 in the morning the troops passed through a place called Pike Parrah, where the enemy had been overnight, and about an hour after halted in the great road leading to Calcutta, having the ships at anchor in view, though not the Fort which was obscured by clusters of trees. Kessersing, commander of the *seapoys*, was detached from hence with 200 *seapoys* to reconnoitre, and was followed by Captain Pye at the head of the Grenadier company and the rest of the *seapoys;* Captain Gauppe was likewise advanced with his company and the volunteers in the Calcutta Road to give timely notice of the approach of any of the enemy that might come that way. Captain Pye had orders to take possession of the suburbs and send an immediate report when he had effected it, but not to attempt any thing further without order. Captain Pye finding the *pettah* or suburbs abandoned marched directly down to the river side, where Kesser Sing's party were lying under the bank, and put himself under the orders of Captain Coote who was landed with the King's troops; they had just struck a flag on one of the advanced batteries and were reconnoitring from behind it, when Kesser Sing was ordered back with the *seapoys;* Captain Weller landing soon after from the *Salisbury* and, hearing that the Colonel was attacked by the enemy, ordered the whole to march to his assistance; whilst these detachments were on their march to join the Colonel the main body of the enemy under the command of Rajah Monichund from the houses and thickets attacked the battalion consisting of 260 rank and file which was pushing for the plain; but they were soon dislodged by a few platoons that were ordered to advance.

The skirmish lasted about half an hour, in which time we had Ensign Kerr with nine private men killed and eight wounded. The enemy's loss must have been somewhat considerable as their number of horse and foot appeared to be about 2,000 and several of them exposed them-

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selves pretty freely at first; but were much alarmed at the briskness of our fire and startled at the first appearance of the cannon which they thought impossible for us to transport over the ground we had marched the preceding night; 'tis said that 200 of inferior note were killed and wounded, four *jemidars*, an elephant and the Commander shot through his turban, besides about forty who perished in their confusion on passing a creek.

At noon the cannon of the fort being quite silenced, our forces marched down to the advanced battery near the river which the enemy had abandoned in the morning, and drew up in front of the fort under cover of a high bank.

At[1] sunset two nine pounders were landed from the *Kent*, and were mounted on the enemy's advanced battery; some of the King's troops were wounded in forming the embrazures by exposing themselves too freely.

At 7 orders were issued out for storming the gateway at daybreak, under cover of the two guns, which was to be carried on by the King's troops, the Grenadier company, 200 *seapoys* and 100 seamen.

At 8 a drunken sailor straggling from his command, pushed into the fort, and giving three cheers was followd by the whole party without any order or regularity. As the enemy had been moving off ever since dusk not a man was lost on this occasion except Captain Dugald Campbell, who unfortunately fell as he was posting sentries over a magazine, it is thought designed by some of the military.

We found here twenty-two pieces of cannon of different calibre and thirty-three barrels of powder.

Dec. 30th.—After disabling the guns, carrying off the powder, demolishing the parapets of the fort and batteries and burning the houses, the troops reimbarked in the evening; the *seapoys* taking their route along the bank of the river with the fleet in view, and the artillery following again in boats.

Dec. 31st.—The fleet proceeded up the river[2] and the next day

1757. *Jan. 1st.*—at 10 a.m. came in sight of Tanna Fort from whence the enemy fired several guns out of random shot and at 2 p.m. came abreast of Tanna and Aligur which is a new mud fort erected by the

[1] 'Near' (Brit. Mus., Ad. MS. 35, 917).

[2] 'With the troops on board under Colonel Clive, the field artillery and Train stores being loaded on large boats kept under the stern of the men-of-war; but by one of the boats going ashore, she struck upon a wreck and bilged, which damaged some ammunition, though little was lost.' (*Clive's Journal*).

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enemy opposite to the former, and where twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon were mounted; upon our approach the enemy abandoned the forts without firing a shot and the boats crews of the squadron took possession of them; we found here fifty-six pieces of cannon, chiefly large, some shot and a small quantity of powder.

Jan. 2nd.—At 5 in the morning the Company's troops landed at Aligur where they joined the *seapoys* and at 8 marched with two field pieces towards Surman's gardens: the enemy abandoning their batteries near the river on approach of the fleet and land force, at 10 a.m. the ships coming abreast of Fort William (by the Moors called Alinagor) were fired upon pretty warmly as they lay becalmed, sheering round in the eddies of the tide; but soon, after coming to an anchor close in with the western line of guns on the river side, they drove the enemy from their batteries, who fled through the eastern gate before the military or *seapoys* could come up with them; in this action three of the King's soldiers and six sailors were killed. At 11 the boats landed a party of the King's troops from the squadron who took possession of Fort William in the King's name.

Jan. 3rd.—The Admiral came on shore and after being saluted, delivered up the Fort with all the stores and goods to the Company's representatives. There were found here many guns of different sizes, round and grape shots, shells, grenadoes, a small quantity of powder (and some military stores) but no small arms; in the *godowns* were several bales of the Company's broad cloth and about 650 bales of goods for the Europe market; and in town about 1,400 bales of cotton, a small quantity of toothenague and some China ware.

Jan. 4th.—Arranged the garrison stores and mounted cannon on the ramparts; at 8 p.m. a detachment of 130 of King's troops, the Grenadier company, and 200 *seapoys* under command of Major Killpatrick, embarked on board the *Bridgewater*, *Kingsfisher*, *Thunder* bomb and other small vessells in order to proceed up to Hughly, Captain King having a party of 200 seamen in the boats of the squadron; the *Bridgewater* unfortunately grounded on the sand off Perrin's gardens, and notwithstanding her guns and stores were taken out the next day (*Jan. 5th*) she was not got off till at 4 in the afternoon when she proceeded as far as Barnagore (*Jan. 6th*). Weighed with the morning flood (*Jan. 7th*), and at high water anchored abreast of the Danish Factory.[1]

[1] In the *Journal* this passage runs: 'She was not got off till the 6th January, at 4 in the afternoon, when she proceeded as far as Barnagur. Weighed with the morning's flood, and at 8,' etc.

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Jan. 8th.—Got up as far as the French Gardens.

Jan. 9th.—At noon the ships came to an anchor off Hughly and began firing (in order) to dislodge the enemy from the banks and houses where they might annoy us in landing, At 4 in the afternoon the troops landed about 700 yards below the Fort under cover of the ships which immediately (after) moved farther up the river and anchored close to the fort and began to batter in breach. The troops on landing took possession of the houses and avenues leading to the Fort, got their scaling ladders on shore, burnt the houses (before them) and lay in Coja Wazeed's garden till the breach was practicable.

Jan. 10th.—About 2 o'clock this morning the troops marched up to the Fort and applying their ladders scaled the walls, making themselves masters of the place in less than an hour with little or no loss; having placed sufficient guards and posted sentries round the walls to prevent surprize, they lay on their arms till daylight.

Jan. 11th.—About 8 p.m. two detachments were sent out each consisting of one Captain, three Subalterns fifty Europeans and seventy *seapoys* to search the houses and secure what effects might be found. (During this time the commanding officer pitched upon a convenient spot of ground at the distance of five miles from the town of Calcutta to encamp upon, having secured it with batteries and intrenchments against the Nabob's army daily expected.)[1]

Jan. 12th.—Captain Coote was sent out with a detachment to reconnoitre Bandell and protect the men of war's boats in bringing off any of the enemy they might find in the creeks.

Jan. 13th.—At six this evening upon information that several effects belonging to the Moors and bales of English goods had been lodged by our enemies in some empty storehouses at Chinchura, (a Settlement belonging to the Dutch)[1] and the Dutch Fiscal signifying his approbation to Captain Smith of our taking them by force, an officer was sent with thirty men to place sentries on such store houses there as the informer should point out, which was accordingly done, but to our surprize the Dutch Director denied his knowing anything of such effects and refused delivering them.

Jan. 14th.—This morning the detachment at Chinchura was ordered back on an alarm that the enemy had surrounded Hughly Fort.

Jan. 15th.—Having disabled the enemy's guns (carrying on board such as were serviceable) demolished the walls, bastions and gateways, and (*Jan.* 16) burnt (all) the houses within and without we embarked (again)

[1] Omitted in *Clive's Journal.*

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in order to proceed higher up the river; we landed and burnt the *gonges*,[1] or granaries above the Portugueze church.

Jan. 17th.—Sent out parties to burn on the other side of the river.

Jan. 19th.—(This day) the King's and Company's troops disembarked from His Majesty's ships and went on board the sloops in order to return to Calcutta (*Jan.* 20) where we landed (leaving the *seapoys* behind with Captain Smith) the next day.

(*Jan. 25th.*—The Grenadier Company joined the battalion in camp.

Jan. 28th.—The King's troops commanded by Captain Weller joined them).[2] From this day

Feb. 2nd.—to the 2nd February we remained in camp expecting the Nabob's army when we received intelligence that the van was advanced within four miles of us to the northward, and could discover their burning and destroying the villages as they marched along.

Feb. 3rd.—Early in the morning part of his army appeared on their march along the road leading from Dum Duma House to the Bridge, at the distance of two miles, which they crossed and proceeded to the southward of our camp towards Calcutta, and several of their horse came within about 400 yards of our advanced battery. About noon hearing that small parties of the enemy were got into the skirts of the town, Captain De la Beaume was detached with 80 Europeans, 150 *seapoys*, and two pieces of cannon, to the redoubt at Bogbuzar, from thence to defend that part of the town, and prevent the enemy's plunderers from annoying the inhabitants, which he effected having killed a good number and taken between thirty and forty prisoners. At 5 in the afternoon the major part of the battalion and *seapoys* with four field pieces advanced towards the enemy in order to harrass them on their march and to discover whether they were not making some lodgment in a wood within reach of our camp; and as soon as we came abreast of this place, they began a brisk fire upon us from nine pieces of cannon, some of them thirty two pounders, which they had placed to cover their march; on this we immediately formed and returned the cannonadement which continued but a short time, it being near sunset when we began: we soon discovered the enemy draw off their cannon and proceeding on their march to their encampment; at the same time the forces returned to camp. The loss was inconsiderable on both sides; one *matross* and three *seapoys* killed and Captain Weller and Fraser slightly wounded, eight of the enemy's horse were killed and as many men.

[1] Gunges, *Journal.*

[2] Omitted in *Journal.*

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Feb. 4th. This morning the main body of their army appeared in sight, in which we were informed the Nabob himself was. He having the preceding day signified his inclination to accommodate matters, and desired Commissaries might be sent for that purpose, Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton were accordingly dispatched with his messenger: they came to the place the Nabob had appointed, but contrary to his promise he had proceeded on his march and they did not get up with him till passing through his army in camp (which extended near five miles from the lake fronting our camp at the distance of two miles to the bounds of Calcutta) they came to Omichund's Garden: the Nabob and his ministers' behaviour to these gentlemen seeming to require some decisive blow to bring matters to a conclusion, it was determined on their return to attack the Nabob's camp the next morning before daylight, for which purpose Mr. Watson's assistance was requested, and he sent Captain Warwick with between five and six hundred seamen who joined our troops about 3 o'clock in the morning (*Feb. 5th*); half an hour after we marched with our battalion consisting of 500 Europeans rank and file, 800 *seapoys*, six field pieces and a howitzer with 70 of the Train, and the above mentioned seamen, one half of which were employed in drawing the guns and carrying ammunition, and the other carried arms; At break of day we arrived close to the Nabob's camp before we were challenged, when we received a brisk fire from several quarters, which was returned by our advanced *seapoys;* the enemy on this retreated and we entered their camp without further resistance, and pursued our march for sometime undisturbed; but upon our approaching nearer to the centre of the camp and the Nabob's quarters our battalion was briskly charged by a body of 300 horse almost within reach of bayonet; they were received with so much coolness and such a regular fire that (very) few of them escaped: after this the whole army began to encompass us in great bodies; so we were obliged to keep up a constant fire of artillery and musketry to keep the enemy at a distance; we marched through the whole camp which took us up full two hours; and several charges were made upon our rear by the horse, but not with equal courage to the first; about 11 we arrived at the Fort and in the afternoon set out for the camp which we reached by 7 in the evening.

An unlucky fog prevented our attack upon the Nabob's Head Quarters, which if successful would have made the action more decisive; however, as it was, the enemy suffered very considerably; the sailors and *seapoys* in the rear destroyed everything which the van had passed. The Nabob's army consisted of 20,000 horse and 30,000 foot with 25

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pieces of cannon, and by the best accounts 1,300 were killed and wounded including twenty-two officers, some of which were of great distinction; upwards of 500 horse were counted upon the spot with four elephants and a number of camels, cattle etc. The loss on our side amounted to twenty-seven killed in the battalion and seventy wounded, twelve seamen killed and as many wounded, eighteen *seapoys* killed and fifty-five wounded.

The apprehension of another attack was so great that the enemy kept up a constant fire of great guns and small arms, all the night (*Feb. 6th*), and the next day decamped, the Nabob sending a messenger at the same time with offers to treat.

Whilst this treaty continued the enemy's army was encamped on the other side of Dum Dumma Bridge having a river between the two camps.

Feb. 8th.—Everything was concluded and the Nabob decamped with his whole army and began his march to Muxadavad.

Feb. 14th.—We encamped about 400 yards nearer to the water side.

Feb. 18th.—We crossed the water and encamped opposite to Barnagul.

19. *Journal of Sir (then Captain) Eyre Coote.*

Saturday, 17th October, 1756.—Sailed from Madrass on the expedition on board Admiral Watson's ship the *Kent*, in company with His Majesty's ships *Cumberland*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater*, and two Indiamen *viz. Marlborough* and *Walpole*.

Tuesday, 30th Nov.—Came to an anchor in Balasore Road, the *Cumberland* and *Salisbury* struck and fired some guns.

December 1st.—Stood more into the Road and lost company from the *Cumberland*, *Salisbury* and *Bridgewater*.

Dec. 8th.—Sailed for the river Ganges.

Dec. 15th.—Arrived at Fultah with the *Tyger* and *Walpole* Indiaman.

Dec. 16th.—Colonel Clive landed the Company's troops.

Dec. 22nd.—Landed the Company's troops from the *Salisbury* and *Bridgewater*.

Dec. 27th.—Colonel Clive re-embarked the Company's troops, the *seapoys* to the number of 600 marched by land.

Dec. 28th.—Colonel Clive disembarked the Company's troops at Moyapore.

Dec. 29th.—The Admiral's ship with the *Tyger* who took the van, and *Salisbury* the rear, arrived before Bougeebougee about 7 o'clock in the morning, the *Tyger* began to cannonade the Fort, and a quarter of an

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hour after the *Kent*, the *Salisbury* did not come up till near 12; about 11 o'clock the Admiral made the signal for the King's troops to land, and to join some of the Company's troops we saw marching under the bank of the river; upon my landing I found they were a detachment from Colonel Clive's army composed of the Grenadier company and *seapoys;* Captain Pye, who commanded them, told me he had orders from Colonel Clive to take possession of the bank under the fire of the ships; but that as he was under my command, he was ready to obey what orders I pleased to give; upon which I formed the King's troops into platoons, (who were by this time all arrived from the *Kent* and *Tyger*) the Company's Grenadiers in the rear of me, and divided the *seapoys* into the advanced and rear guards. I immediately advanced and took possession of two out forts the enemy had evacuated without taking away their colours. From one of the forts I could plainly see that there was a narrow road into the interior fort and that the gate was made of wooden bars, so that I thought we might enter without much difficulty, especially as the men-of-war had silenced all their batteries; I therefore ordered a march to be beat and was advancing to storm the Fort, when word was brought me that Captain Weller (who was my senior) was landed with the troops from the *Salisbury*, and desired I would halt till he came up, which I did, and while I was representing the situation of affairs, word was brought that a very large body of horse and foot had attacked Colonel Clive, therefore Captain Weller thought it necessary to desist from my project, and to go to the Colonel, whom we knew to be very weak, and after three miles march, we joined him; he was then drawn up in a plain, and had a smart skirmish with the enemy before he could disengage himself from some enclosures and houses that the enemy had possessed themselves of; after remaining for about an hour, we marched back to the place I had been before in possession of, and the Colonel went on board to consult with the Admiral; on his return I found that we were to have a body of seamen to join us, and that we were to storm the place when night came on; all this time the enemy fired nothing but small arms at us, by which they killed and wounded some of our men. When night came on, 400 sailors came on shore under the command of Captain King; the Colonel and Major Kilpatrick were retired to rest as they had a very fatiguing march all the night before, and Captain Weller was gone sick on board; so that I then had the command, and as my opinion was all day for storming the place, I was in hopes then to have the honour of doing it, but the Colonel sent me word he'd have nothing done till the

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morning; upon which I went to him to represent how things stood, and that the sailors were all landed, and that our men would suffer from lying out all night; he sent me then on board the Admiral to know if he would have the sailors sent on board till morning; while I was on board a sailor that was drunk stole away to the fort gate, and fired his pistol and cried out the place was his, upon which the King's, who were next the gate, entered the fort without any opposition; thus the place was taken without the least honour to anyone; we found the fort very strong, with a wet ditch all round it, and I had the honour to command it that night.

Dec. 30th.—Re-embarked the troops, the *seapoys* marched by land.

Dec. 31st.—The Fleet proceeded up the river.

1757, *Jan. 1st.*—Came in sight of Tannah Fort, which the enemy had evacuated.

Jan. 2nd.—Colonel Clive landed with the Company's troops and the *Kent* and *Tyger* proceeded to Calcutta. About 9 o'clock the Fort fired smartly on the *Tyger;* she was half an hour before she could get a gun to bear; as soon as we could get our guns to bear from the *Kent* and *Tyger*, we ply'd so warmly that they left before 12 o'clock. The Admiral ordered me on shore to hoist the English colours and take the command of the Fort for His Majesty and sent me the following orders

By Charles Watson Esq., Vice Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's ships and vessels, employed in the East Indies, and of the marine force of the United Company of Merchants trading to and in these parts.

You are hereby required and directed to garrison the Fort of Calcutta with His Majesty's troops you have now on shore, and take care to post your sentinels and guards so as not to be surprised by the enemy. In the evening I shall be on shore, and you are not to quit your post, or deliver up your command till further orders from me. During your continuance on shore you are to take care no disorders are committed by His Majesty's troops or any other people, but to treat the natives with humanity and take particular care there is no plundering, as such offenders may depend on the severest punishment.

Given under my hand on board His Majesty's ship *Kent* off Calcutta 2nd January 1757. CHARLES WATSON.

To CAPTAIN EYRE COOTE, of His Majesty's 39th Regiment of Foot. By command of the Admiral, HENRY DOIDGE.

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By Charles Watson Esq., Vice Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the East Indies, and of the marine force of the United Company of Merchants trading to and in these parts.

In honour of His Majesty's colours on our success in reducing this place, you are hereby required and directed to fire a salute of twenty-one guns, for which this shall be your order.

Given under my hand on board His Majesty's ship *Kent* off Calcutta the 2nd of January 1757, CHARLES WATSON.

To CAPTAIN EYRE COOTE, of His Majesty's 39th Regiment of Foot. By command of the Admiral, HENRY DOIDGE.

Jan. 2nd.—Sometime after, Colonel Clive came with the Company's troops.

Jan. 3rd.—The Admiral came on shore and delivered up the place to the Company. I then marched out with the King's troops and quartered in the town.

Jan. 4th.—I received orders to embark with the King's troops on board the twenty gun ship and sloop of war, and the rest of our detachment that was on board the *Salisbury* all joined except Captain Waller who was left sick on board; Major Kilpatrick with the Company's grenadiers and 170 *seapoys* were also embarked; we were in all about 200 Europeans and 170 *seapoys*.

Jan. 9th.—The ships came to an anchor off Hughly.

Jan. 10th.—The troops landed and took possession of the town, the twenty gun ship and sloop went abreast of the Fort and began to cannonade it, which they continued doing till about 12 o'clock at night; the Major sent me to examine the breach that the ships had made which I found practicable to enter, on which we formed two attacks, one of 50 men went to the main gate and kept a great noise with continual firing, whilst we entered privately at the breach; the sailors under Captain King, that were on shore with us, put up our scaling ladders and assisted us in getting in, which we did without any loss, for the enemy (as we had imagined) went all to the place where our false attack was made, and run away through one of the gates; we found the Fort much stronger than we at first imagined and the garrison consisted of 2,000 men; we had some of our men killed and wounded before we stormed.

Jan. 11th.—I was sent into the town with 50 soldiers and 100 *seapoys* and Captain Pye with the like number to examine the houses.

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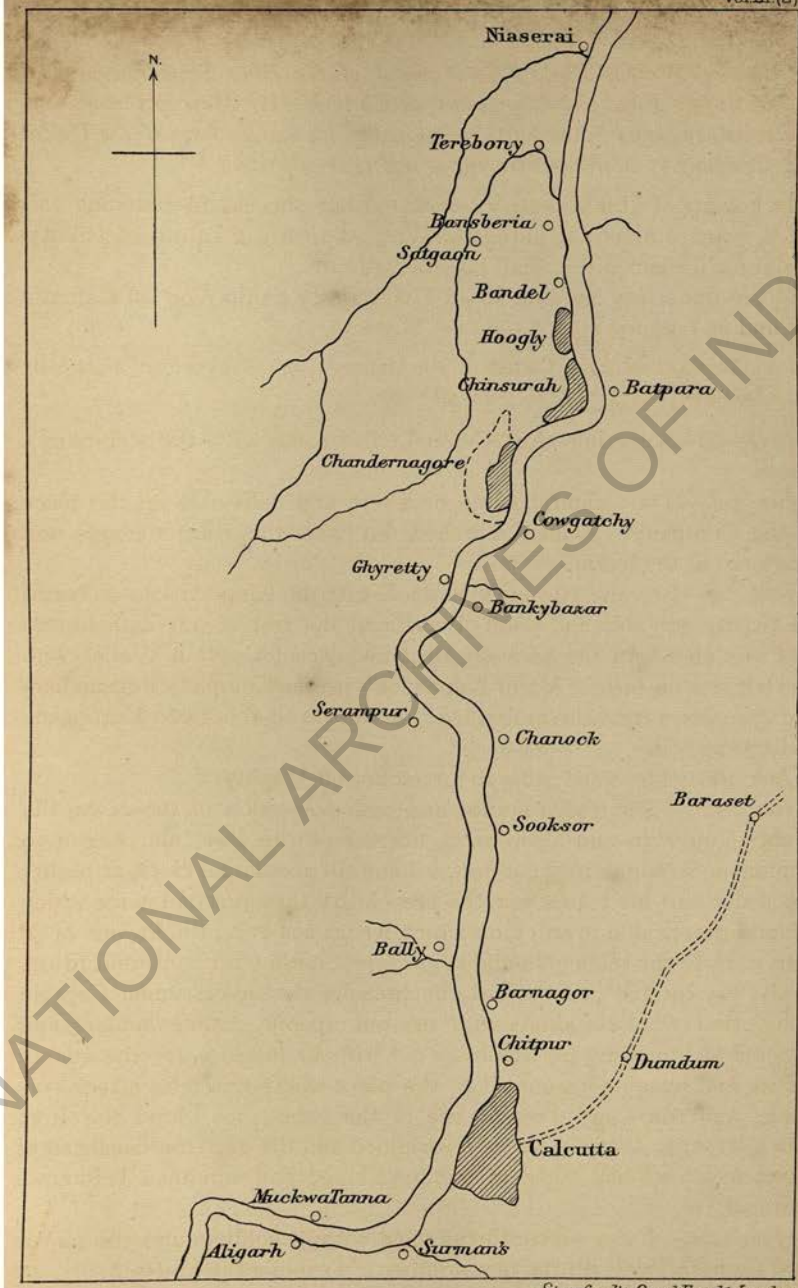

Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t, London

HOOGLY RIVER, CALCUTTA TO NIASERAI.

Scale: 5 miles to 1 inch.

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Jan. 12*th.*—I was detached with 50 soldiers and 100 *seapoys* to burn a village about three miles from the Fort, and was to be joined by some sailors on my march. I took possession of a Portuguese convent, where I was informed that between 3 and 4,000 of the enemy were encamped behind the village that I was going to burn; however as it was a very great granary I knew it must be of very great service could I succeed: I therefore marched into the village about a mile and a half, and then ordered the *seapoys* and sailors to set fire in the rear of me as I marched back again, which I did, but before I had got half way back some of my advanced guard came running in, and told me the enemy, consisting both of horse and foot, were marching up the street, and had taken possession of several houses, and also the men-of-war's boats. As my rear was well secured by the houses being all on fire, I made no doubt but I should give a good account of them that attacked me in the front; as I could see they were all horse my 50 men were formed into three platoons, but the street was so narrow I was obliged to march by files, I therefore made every platoon into two firings and advanced by street firing briskly upon them, but found them not so eager as they seemed to be at first. Upon our first fire we killed their chief officer and four or five of their men, upon which all their horse went away, but I found they fired up the lanes upon my right flank as I marched by, I therefore ordered some of the men to fire down as we passed; as soon as I had got out of the village, I drew up the men and halted, and formed an advance and rear guard of *seapoys*, whom I found had not continued burning in my rear as I ordered them. I found the men-of-war boats all safe. In this skirmish we killed ten of the enemy and had but one serjeant wounded. Major Kilpatrick upon hearing our firing had marched out of the garrison to support me, but the affair was over before he joined us.

Jan. 16*th.*—Demolished the Fort at Hughly and re-embarked.

Jan. 17*th.*—Sailed for Calcutta, but left the twenty gun ship and sloop behind.

Jan. 19*th.*—Disembarked at Calcutta, where Captain Weller took the command of the King's troops.

Jan. 23*rd.*—Marched out and joined Colonel Clive who was in an entrenched encampment about three miles to the northward of Calcutta.

Febry. 2*nd.*—Intelligence was brought that the Nabob with his army consisting of 40,000 horse and 60,000 foot, 50 elephants and 30 pieces of cannon was within a few miles of us. Our body, for I cannot call it

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our army, consisted of 711 men in battalion, about 100 artillery with 14 field pieces 6 pounders besides the cannon on our batteries and 1,300 *seapoys*.

Feb. 3rd.—We could see the Nabob's army marching along the road to Calcutta, and had begun to set fire to the suburbs of the town. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon we marched about two miles out of our camp, with six pieces of cannon and drew up opposite to their line of march, upon which both sides began to cannonade and continued it till night; they fired from ten pieces of cannon, some of them thirty-two pounders; we had a few men killed and Captain Weller was wounded in the thigh. The enemy continued their line of march, and encamped on a plain to the eastward of the town, about four miles from us; the Colonel sent Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton to treat with the Nabob on pacific terms, who returned in the evening, having obtained nothing more than evasive answers, but were desired by the Nabob to come again the next day and matters should be settled amicably.

Feb. 5th.—About one in the morning we were joined by 600 sailors from the squadron under the command of Captain Warwick and soon after marched to attack the Nabob's camp, our force being 500 rank and file in battalion, 800 *seapoys*, 600 sailors six field pieces one cohorn and 60 artillery men; the *seapoys* were divided in front and rear, the artillery were all in the rear with the sailors to guard them; about daybreak we arrived unperceived at an encampment of their horse, but the alarm was soon given, and some popping shots fired at us, upon which our *seapoys* in the front began firing but with some confusion. As I had a company of grenadiers formed out of the King's troops, and my post being next to them, I was not without some apprehension of being broke by them; I therefore endeavoured to make them advance as fast as I could and sent for a piece of cannon to come in my front; while this was doing a shower of arrows came among us with some fire rockets, one of which unfortunately fell on one of the Company's grenadiers (who were in my rear) and blew up almost the whole platoon; immediately after this a body of their choice horse came riding down upon us sword in hand; as there was a very great fog we could not perceive them till they were within ten yards of us, upon which our battalion faced to the right and gave them a full fire, which destroyed almost the whole of them; after this we kept marching through their encampment without any of their horse or elephants offering to come near us; their foot kept firing at us from several places, being dispersed up and down behind banks; about 9 o'clock the fog began to disperse, and we found ourselves nearly

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opposite the Nabob's quarters, which was behind an entrenchment made many years ago by the English for the defence of the town against the Morattoes. Here we could perceive their greatest force lay, and they began to cannonade us briskly; they sent some bodies of horse to surround us, but they never attempted to come near for us to fire our musketry at them; finding we could not force this part of the intrenchment we marched about a mile further in order to get over at another place; while we were marching the carriage of one of our cannon in the rear broke and we obliged to leave it behind; soon after being pressed in the rear, and the people that drew the cannon being very much fatigued, another shared the same fate. Ensign York with a platoon of the King's was ordered from the front to the rear, in order to recover the cannon; when he arrived he found the rear in some confusion, and another piece of cannon in great danger of being taken, as there was a body of horse and foot pressing upon it; it being at some distance from the battalion; he then marched beyond the gun and drew up his platoon in the rear of it, and by keeping a constant fire secured the gun till it was drawn to the front; in this affair he had one man killed and three wounded; after we had passed the entrenchment at the place intended, we began to cannonade on both sides very briskly, and continued it for half an hour, after which we marched for Fort William, which was about a mile distant, and arrived there at noon; about 5 in the evening marched out of our camp.

The Nabob sent an Embassador to treat. He began his march back to his capital Muxadavad.

The following Peace was concluded.

Translate of the Treaty of Peace and Agreement with Nabob Sirajah Dowlat.

Signed seven times. MUNSURULLMEMALEK, SIRAJAH DOWLAT, SHAH KULI KHAN, BAHADUR HYBUT JUNG, SERVANT OF KING ALLEMGERE THE INVINCIBLE.

List of Demands.

Agreed to according to the tenor of the Phirmaund.

1st. That the Company be not molested upon account of such privileges as have been granted them by the King's *phirmaund* and *Husbulhookum* and the *Phirmaund* and *Husbulhookum* remain in full force. That the villages which were given to the Company by the *Phirmaund*,

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but detained from them by the *Subahs*, be likewise allowed them, nor let any impediment or restriction be put upon their *zemindars*.

It is agreed to.

2nd. That all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their *dustick* do pass freely by land or water in Bengal, Bahar and Orixa without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatever, that the *zemindars*, *chowkydars*, *guzerbans*[1] &c. offer them no kind of molestation upon this account.

Whatsoever has been seized by the Government it is agreed shall be restored.

3rd. That restitution be made the Company of their Factories and Settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbazar, Dacca &c., which have been taken from them, that all money and effects taken from the English Company, their factors and dependants at the several *aurungs* and Settlements be restored in the same condition, that an equivalent in money be given for such goods as are damaged, plundered, or lost, which shall be left at the Nabob's justice to determine.

It is agreed to.

4th. That the Company shall be allowed to fortify Calcutta in such a manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence, without any hindrance or obstruction.

It is agreed that bullion imported by the Company be coined into siccas.

5th. That *siccas* be coined at Allahnagore Calcutta, in the same manner as at Muxadavad, and that if the money struck in Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with that of Muxadavad there be no demand made for a deduction of *batta*.

In the presence of God and His prophet, these Articles are signed and sealed.

6th. That these proposals be ratified in the strongest manner, in the presence of God and His Prophet, and signed and sealed by the Nabob and some of his principal people.

On condition that an agreement under the Company's seal, and signed by the Company's Colonel, and sworn to according to their religion, be sent me, I agree to the Articles which I have countersigned.

7th. And Admiral Charles Watson and Colonel Clive promise in behalf of the English nation and of the English Company, that from henceforth all hostilities shall cease in Bengal, and the English will

[1] A collector of tolls at ferries.

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always remain in peace and friendship with the Nabob as long as these Articles are kept in force and remain unviolated.

Witness. ALEKINDAR NARRAIN COUDJAH.

AAZALILICULLE MUXADAVAD DOWLAT NOWAZISH ALLI KHAN BAHADUR, ZAHOAR JUNG, A SERVANT OF THE KING ALLEMGERE THE INVINCIBLE.

Witness. LUCHINARRAIN COUDJAH.

MIR JAFFIER KHAN BAHADUR, A SERVANT OF KING ALLEMGERE THE INVINCIBLE.

RAJAH DOOLUBRAM BAHADUR, A SERVANT OF KING ALLEMGERE THE INVINCIBLE.

February 14th.—Broke up our camp, marched and encamped upon the bank of the river.

Feb. 18th.—Crossed the river and encamped opposite Barnagore.

March 4th.—The first division of the Bombay troop consisting of 150 men, joined us, under the command of Captain Andrew Buchanan.

March 8th.—Broke up our camp, and marched about eight miles towards Chandernagore.

March 9th.—Marched and encamped near Serampore, a Factory belonging to the Danes.

March 10th.—Marched and encamped about two miles from the French Gardens.

March 11th.—Halted; 2nd division of the Bombay troops consisting of 150 men, joined us, under the command of Captain Andrew Armstrong.

March 12th.—Marched and encamped about two miles to the westward of Chandernagore.

March 14th.—Read His Majesty's Declaration of War against the French King; the 3rd division of the Bombay troops consisting of 100 men, joined us; Colonel Clive ordered the picquets with the Company's grenadiers to march into the French Bounds, which is encompassed with an old ditch, the entrance into it a gateway with embrazures on the top, but no cannon, which the French evacuated on our people's advancing; as soon as Captain Lynn (who commanded the party) had taken possession, he acquainted the Colonel, who ordered Major Kilpatrick and me, with my company of grenadiers to join Captain Lynn, and send him word after we had reconnoitred the place; on our arrival there we found a party of French was in possession of a road

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leading to a redoubt that they had thrown up close up under their Fort, where they had a battery of cannon, and upon our advancing down the road, they fired some shot at us; we detached some parties through a wood and drove them from the road into their batteries with the loss of some men; we then sent for the Colonel, who as soon as he joined us, sent to the camp for more troops; we continued firing at each other; in an irregular manner till about noon, at which time the Colonel ordered me to continue with my grenadier company and about 200 *seapoys* at the advance post, and that he would go with the rest of our troops to the entrance which was about a mile back. About 2 o'clock word was brought me that the French were making a sortie; soon after I perceived the *seapoys* retiring from their post, upon which I sent to the Colonel to let him know the French were coming out. I was then obliged to divide my company which consisted of about fifty men into two or three parties (very much against my inclination) to take possession of the ground the *sepoys* had quitted; we fired pretty warmly for a quarter of an hour from the different parties at each other, when the French retreated again into their battery; on this occasion I had a gentleman (Mr. Tooke) who was a volunteer, killed, and two of my men wounded; the enemy lost five or six Europeans and some blacks; by their retiring I got close under their battery and was tolerably well sheltered by an old house, where I continued firing till about 7 o'clock, at which time I was relieved and marched back to camp; this night the Colonel sent a party to take possession of the southward of the town.

March 15th.—The army marched to the southward except the party that relieved me yesterday to the northward; the commanding officer of which party sent word to the Colonel, while on the march, that the French had evacuated the battery we attacked the preceding night, and had spiked up their guns, and that he was in possession of it; we were likewise informed during our march that the French had evacuated all their batteries to the southward and had retired to the Fort; the chief of which was a half moon battery newly erected in order to defend a narrow part of the river where they had sunk some ships in order to hinder the passage of our men-of-war. The others (three in number) were thrown up at the end of the three principal streets of the town, all which batteries we took possession of before 12 o'clock at noon, which made us masters of the town, and brought us within half musket shot of the Fort. Colonel Clive ordered me to take the command of that advanced post with 200 Europeans and 300 *seapoys;* the enemy fired

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some cannon and musketry, but being covered by a number of houses they did very little execution.

March 16*th.*—Relieved all the posts and marched back to camp, which was in the suburbs of the town.

March 17*th.*—Got some cohorns and one 13 inch mortar which we played upon the Fort.

March 18*th.*—Continued throwing shells into the Fort and firing musketry from the tops of the houses.

March 19*th.*—Began to erect a battery of five 24 pounders behind the wall of a house that was close to the glacis and opposite to the south face of the south-east bastion, likewise turned a battery of the enemy's on the south flank of the north-east bastion, and mounted three 24 pounders. Admiral Watson with the *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Salisbury* arrived this morning from Calcutta, which they left the 14th instant, and anchored just out of gunshot from the Fort.

March 20*th.*—The enemy began to play upon our 3 gun battery, which we returned, but they soon silenced it and almost demolished the work.

March 21*st.*—Continued making the five gun battery, and almost finished the three; when the enemy began firing warmly again at it and knocked down a veranda close by the battery, the rubbish of which choked up one of our guns, very much bruised two artillery officers, and buried several men in the ruins. Admiral Pocock and Captain Grant (of our regiment) arrived from Culpee, where they left the *Cumberland*.

March 22*nd.*—Finished our 5 gun battery, but got no more than 4 guns in it; the enemy in the evening found out where we were making our battery and fired very warmly on it; the detachment of the King's troops were ordered on board His Majesty's ships *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Salisbury*. At night Admiral Pocock hoisted his flag on board the *Tyger*.

March 23*rd.*—At 6 o'clock in the morning signal was made for weighing; soon after the Colonel marched with the Company's troops from camp into the town, opened the four gun battery and began to fire from the three gun battery which was tolerably well repaired; the Colonel had likewise placed musketry on several houses, who kept a continual fire on the south-east bastion; at half past six the *Tyger* was under sail and stood up the river for the Fort, the *Kent* following her, and the *Salisbury* bringing up the rear; the enemy had a mud battery of six guns close to the water's edge, from which they kept a continual fire on the *Kent* and *Tyger*, as well as from the south-east and north-east bastions, which did the *Tyger* some damage, but on her coming abreast of the mud battery, the enemy spiked up their guns and retired into the Fort; at 7 o'clock

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the *Tyger* came to an anchor opposite the north-east bastion and a few minutes after the *Kent* came to opposite the south-east, both of which bastions consisted of five guns in face and three in flank; they fired very warmly and with a good deal of success; the *Kent* very unfortunately dragging her anchor exposed her quarter to the fire of the flank of the south-west bastion; the *Salisbury* brought up in the rear. After a very warm engagement of two hours, the French having bravely defended their Fort hung out a flag of truce. Admiral Watson then ordered me on shore to know what they wanted; when I got into the Fort everything seemed in very great confusion; in about a quarter of an hour I returned to the Admiral with the Governor's son, and a letter concerning the delivery of the place. Articles were agreed on before 3 o'clock in the afternoon which are as follows:—

Articles of capitulation proposed by the Directors and Council for the French East India Company's affairs at Chandernagore to Admiral Watson with his answers (*see No.* 303).

I was ordered on shore to take possession of the Fort with a company of artillery, my own company of grenadiers, and the Company's grenadiers. During the engagement the *Kent* had three of her 32 pounders dismounted, 19 men killed and 74 wounded; among the former was Mr. Perreau First Lieutenant, and among the latter Captain Speke, Mr. Hay Third Lieutenant, Captain Speke's son and four or five petty officers, my detachment consisting of 30 rank and file, had nine men killed and five wounded; the larboard side (which was the side we engaged with) was hulled in 138 places, besides three or four shot through our main mast, and as many through the mizen; the *Tyger* had 14 men killed and 56 wounded, the master being the only person of rank among the former; among the latter Admiral Pocock slightly hurt; of the King's detachment under Captain Grant one man killed and two wounded; the *Salisbury* had none killed or wounded, and the enemy were so much employed against the ships that the army ashore under Colonel Clive had but one man killed and ten wounded; the number of the enemy in the garrison were 500 Europeans and about 500 blacks. The Fort of Chandernagore is a regular square about three-quarters of a mile in circumference with four bastions, each of which mounts sixteen guns, besides some guns on the curtain and a battery of four pieces of cannon on the top of a church, a dry fosse round the three sides to the land, with a glacis of about forty yards; out of the northward port a small ravelin mounting five guns, and opposite the port, towards the waterside, a mud battery of six guns which flanked down the river.

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March 27th.—Marched and encamped a little to the northward of Chinsura.

March 29th.—The detachment of the King's troops from the *Cumberland* consisting of about ninety men joined the camp, where the whole army continued till the 1st of May.

May 2nd.—Broke up our camp, the Bombay and Bengal troops marched to Calcutta, the King's and Madrass troops went into garrison at Chandernagore.

June 12th.—Major Kilpatrick marched from Calcutta with the military and *seapoys* under his command; at 5 in the afternoon embarked at Barnagore in boats and joined the Colonel at Chandernagore about 11 at night.

June 13th.—Delivered the Fort of Chandernagore to the care of Mr. Clerke (Admiral Watson's First Lieutenant who took the command of with it 100 sailors). Our army under the command of Colonel Clive consisting of 750 military (including 100 *topasses*) about 150 of the Train (including 50 sailors), with eight pieces of cannon 6 pounders and one hobit embarked in boats, the *seapoys* (being 2,100) marched to the northward through Hughly; about noon arrived at Niaserray; at 3 in the afternoon the *seapoys* joined us.

June 14th.—At daybreak the *seapoys* marched, and at 8 o'clock the artillery and the military embarked; about 11 at night, the first of the boats arrived at Culnah, where we met the *seapoys*, who this day had a very fatiguing march; one *jemedar*, one *hauvildar*, and about twenty-nine of the Madrass *seapoys* deserted on the march; about 3 in the afternoon met Mr. Watts (Chief of Cossimbazar) some other gentlemen and about thirty soldiers who had made their escape from Cassimbazar.

June 15th.—The Colonel thought proper to appoint Captain Archibale Grant a Major. About 3 in the afternoon marched (the artillery only embarking) to a small creek about six miles to the northward of Culnah, where the guns and tumbrills were landed.

June 16th.—The whole artillery under the command of a subaltern and twenty men of the Train and the *seapoys* marched, the military embarked in the boats about 7 in the morning and landed at 4 in the afternoon; lay in a large grove by the river side; this day the Colonel appointed Captain Eyre Coote a Major.

June 17th.—Embarked in the morning and landed at 4 in the afternoon; were joined here by the artillery and *seapoys*.

June 18th.—The army halted here. About 9 o'clock the Colonel ordered me with a detachment of 200 Europeans and 500 *seapoys*, one

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field piece 6 pounder and a hobit to march and reduce Cutwah, a fort belonging to the Nabob, distant from us about twelve miles; at noon embarked the military with the two pieces of artillery, the *seapoys* marching along the bank of the river; about 10 o'clock at night disembarked the military about three miles below Cutwah, and gave orders to the officer of artillery to go with his boats in the front and proceed on to Cutwah where I should take care to secure his landing; marched on towards Cutwah where I arrived that night about 12 o'clock, took three prisoners who informed me that the enemy to the number of 2,000 had quitted the town and retired into the Fort which was at half a mile's distance, and that Rajah Monickchund (late Governor of Calcutta) was expected that night with 10,000 horse to reinforce the garrison. As soon as I had found a place proper for disembarking the artillery, I sent to the officer and ordered him to land it with all expedition, and went with a small party to reconnoitre the Fort; about this time one of the King's soldiers being suddenly taken ill grew delirious, and whilst in the agonies of death made so great a noise as to discover to the enemy where we were drawn up, on which they began firing at us pretty briskly; I then marched from thence and made a lodgment on a large bastion belonging to the town, exactly opposite the Fort, by which I secured myself from any parties of horse.

June 19th.—The officer of artillery sent me word that he could not bring the boats any higher up, most of them being aground, upon which I ordered him to land the artillery at the place where he was. At daybreak he himself came and informed me, he could not find the limber of the 6 pounder nor the wheels of the hobit carriage; at this time the enemy perceiving where we lay, began to fire upon us very briskly. Finding I could have no dependance on the artillery and being apprehensive of Monickchund's arrival, I altered the plan I had before resolved on, and sent a *jemedar* (Mirza Shah Abbasbeg) with a flag of truce, to acquaint the Governor of the Fort, that, being invited by the principal men of the country, we came as friends to assist them against the tyranny of the Nabob, and notwithstanding his continual firing upon me, I had resolved not to return it (though in my power, my batteries being all ready) until I received his answer with regard to delivering up the place, which if he refused I would immediately storm and give no quarter; to which he sent me for answer that as he had received the command of the Fort from the Nabob he could not deliver it up without his orders, and was resolved to defend it to the last; the *jemedar* likewise informed me that he had not been permitted to cross the river, which divides the town from the Fort, but that the Governor

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had come down to the waterside to him. I then formed the whole into two divisions, the Europeans making one, and the *seapoys* the other, and gave orders to Mootenbeg, who commanded the *seapoys*, to march on very briskly, cross the river, and lodge himself under the opposite bank which was about thirty yards from the Fort, and from thence to keep a continual fire whilst the Europeans crost the river a little higher up. On our advancing the enemy fired some shot without effect, and I could perceive them running out of the Fort, which we immediately entered and found fourteen pieces of cannon of different calibers and a quantity of ammunition. The Fort of Cutwah is about half a mile in circumference, made of earth with eight round towers, situated on the bank of the Cossimbazar river, which covers the east face, with a large creek that covers the south face, which we were obliged to cross and found it very deep and rapid; this face with the other two are surrounded by a deep dry ditch having a narrow passage to walk over without a drawbridge. As soon as I had made myself master of the place, dispatched a letter to the Colonel acquainting him with it, and received a congratulatory letter in answer, about 2 in the afternoon he joined me. The army arrived here about 12 o'clock at night.

June 20th.—Halted here and pitched the tents, but the heavy rains prevented the men from lying in them.

June 21st.—A Council of War was held, composed of the following members—*viz.*:—

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive President, against an immediate action.

	Service:[1]	
Majors:		
James Kilpatrick ...	Madras ...	against.
Archibald Grant ...	39th Regt. ...	against.
Eyre Coote	do. ...	for immediate action.
Captains:		
George Frederick Gaupp	Madras ...	against.
Alexander Grant ...	Bengal ...	for.
John Cudmore ...	do. ...	for.
Thomas Rumbold ...	Madras ...	against.
Christian Fischer ...	Bengal ...	against.
Charles Palmer ...	Bombay ...	against.
Andrew Armstrong ...	do. ...	for.
George Grainger Muir ...	Bengal ...	for.
Melchior Le Beaume ...	Bengal ...	against.
Robert Campbell ...	Madras ...	for.
Rudolph Waggoner ...	39th Regt. ...	against.
John Corneille ...	do. ...	against.

[1] This column is taken from *Broome*, Bengal Army, p. 139.

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Richard Hater Lieutenant in the navy did not give his opinion because he thought he had not his proper seat in Council.

Captain-Lieutenants :		*Service :*	
Peter Casters	...	Bengal ...	for.
William Jennings	...	Artillery ...	against.
John Francis Paschoud		Madras (?)...	against.
— — Molitore	...	Bombay ...	against.

The Colonel informed the Council that he found he could not depend on Meer Jaffier for anything more than his standing neuter in case we came to an action with the Nabob, that Monsieur Law with a body of French was then within three days' march of joining the Nabob, whose army (by the best intelligence he could get) consisted of about 50,000 men, and that he called us together, to desire our opinions, whether in those circumstances it would be prudent to come to immediate action with the Nabob, or fortify ourselves where we were and remain till the *monsoon* was over, and the Morattoes could be brought into the country to join us. The question being then put, began with the President and eldest members, whose opinions are opposite to their names; and I being the first that dissented, thought it necessary to give my reasons for doing so, which were, that as we had hitherto met with nothing but success which consequently had given great spirits to our men, I was of opinion that any delay might cast damp; secondly, that the arrival of Mr. Law would not only strengthen the Nabob's army and add vigour to their councils, but likewise weaken our force considerably, as the number of Frenchmen we had entered into our service, after the capture of Chandernagore, would undoubtedly desert to him upon every opportunity; thirdly, that our distance from Calcutta was so great, that all communication from thence would certainly be cut off, and therefore gave us no room to hope for supplies, and consequently that we must be soon reduced to the greatest distress; therefore gave it as my opinion that we should come to an immediate action, or if that was thought intirely impracticable, that we should return to Calcutta, the consequence of which must be our own disgrace and the inevitable destruction of the Company's affairs.

About an hour after we had broke up, the Colonel informed me, that, notwithstanding the resolution of the Council of War, he intended to march the next morning, and accordingly gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness, leaving a subaltern officer's command together with all our sick in the Fort at Cutwah.

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June 22nd.—At 6 o'clock in the morning, the army crossed the river and marched to a large *tope* about two miles' distance; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon marched and reached Plassey Grove about 12 at night; on advice that the Nabob's vanguard (consisting of 6,000 men) being within three miles of us, an advanced guard of 200 Europeans, 300 *seapoys*, and two pieces of cannon were posted at Plassey House, and several *seapoy* guards posted round the Grove.

June 23rd.—Soon after daybreak in the morning discovered the Nabob's army marching in two lines towards Plassey Grove (which we were in possession of) as if they intended to surround us; upon which we formed the line a few paces without the Grove, our army consisting of 750 men in battalion (including 100 *topasses*) which were told off into four divisions; the first division was commanded by Major Kilpatrick, the second by Major Grant, the third by Major Coote, and the fourth by Captain Gaupp; we had besides 150 of the Train (including 50 sailors) eight pieces of cannon 6 pounders and one hobit, with 2,100 *seapoys*, who were formed on the right and left; the enemy took possession of the adjacent eminences with their cannon which appeared to be regularly supported by their horse and foot; and a large detachment of their army commanded by Meer Modun, (one of their chief generals), together with a body of about 40 French men, with four pieces of cannon lodged themselves within the banks of a tank, distant from us about 200 yards; from whence and the rest of their advance posts, they began to cannonade so briskly that it was adviseable we should retire into the Grove, where we formed behind the ditch that surrounded it, our left being covered by Plassey House which was close to the riverside; in this situation we cannonaded each other till 12 o'clock, when the Colonel came from Plassey House and called the Captains together in order to hold a Council of War, but changing his mind returned without holding one; the cannonading continued on both sides till about 2 o'clock when we could perceive the enemy retiring into their Lines, upon which Major Kilpatrick marched out with his division and took possession of the tank the enemy had quitted; here the Colonel joined him and sent to the Grove for another detachment, upon which I marched out and joined him with my division; the Colonel then sent the King's grenadiers and a grenadier company of *seapoys* to lodge themselves behind a bank that was close to upon the enemy's lines, from whence they kept a continual fire with their small arms, as we likewise did from four pieces of cannon from the tank; perceiving the enemy retire on all sides, I was ordered to march into their lines, which I entered with-

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out opposition; the remainder of the army were then ordered to march, while we pursued the enemy which we continued till it was dusk, and halted at Doudpore, about six miles from the field of battle, where the rest of the army under the command of Major Kilpatrick joined us. In this action we had six men of the artillery killed, two artillery officers and eight privates wounded, of the King's one serjeant and one private man wounded. The Nabob's army consisted of 20,000 foot (*sic*) and 40,000 foot, had about 500 men killed, amongst whom was Meer Modun (whose death was the first occasion of their retreat); besides three elephants and a great many horses; they had 53 pieces of cannon 18 and 24 pounders all which we got possession of. Whilst we were pursuing the enemy, a large body of horse was observed on our right, and upon our firing some shot at them, a messenger arrived with a letter to the Colonel from Meer Jaffier, acquainting him, that he (Meer Jaffier) commanded that body, and requested an interview with him that night, or the next morning.

June 24th.—Marched from Doudpore, and halted that night by a large tank; the Colonel had a meeting with Meer Jaffier, who confirmed the treaty he had before agreed to with Mr. Watts which is as follows:

Wrote in the Nabob's own hand.

I swear by God, and the Prophet of God to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.

MIR MAHMUD JAFFIER CAWN BAHADUR, SERVANT OF KING ALLEMGERE.

Treaty made with the Admiral, and Colonel Clive Sabut Jung Bahadur, and the other Councillors, and Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.

1st. Whatsoever Articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob, Sirajah Doulat, Munsur ul Mulk, Shah Kooli Khan Bahadur Hybut Jung, I agree and comply with.

2nd. The enemies of the English are my enemies whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3rd. All the effects and Factories belonging to the French in the Provinces of Bengal (the Paradise of Nations) and Bahar and Orixa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three Provinces.

4th. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture (and plunder) of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their forces, I will give one *korore* of rupees.

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5th. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give 50 *lack* of rupees.

6th. For the effects plundered from the *Gentoes*, Musselmen and other subjects of Calcutta 20 *lack* of rupees shall be given.

7th. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give 7 *lack* of rupees.

The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, *Jentoes*, and Musselmen, shall be left to the Admiral, Colonel Clive, Sabut Jung Bahadur, and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

8th. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several *zemindars*, besides this I will grant the English Company 600 yards without the ditch.

9th. All the lands lying to the south of Calcutta as far as Culpee, shall be under the *zemindarry* of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction, the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other *zemindars*.

10th. Whensoever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

11th.—I will not erect any new fortifications below Hughly near the river Ganges.

12th.—As soon as ever I am established in the government of the three Provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15th day of the Ramazan[1] *in the 4th year of the reign.*

Besides the above treaty Meer Jaffier agreed to give the army 25 *lacks* of rupees, the navy 25 *lacks* of rupees, and 23 *lacks* to the Company's servants, which sum the Governor and Council divided among themselves in the following proportions, viz.

To the Secret Committee which was composed of Governor Drake, Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick and Mr. Becher two and a half *lacks* each.

To the rest of the Council being seven, one *lack* each.

To the secretary of the Secret Committee 60,000 rupees.

To the Colonel's secretary 40,000 rupees.

June 25th.—Marched at daybreak and arrived at Moydepore about 11 o'clock. Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob at Muxadavad.

June 26th.—Halted.

June 27th.—Halted. A subaltern officer with 30 military and 50 *seapoys* was sent to take possession of Cossimbazar Factory.

[1] i.e., June 3, 1757.

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June 28th.—The army marched to Cossimbazar; the King's and Bengal troops quartered in the English Factory, the Madrass and Bombay troops quartered in the French Factory.

June 29th.—A detachment of 100 of the King's troops with 300 *seapoys* under the command of Major Grant ordered as a guard to the Commander-in-Chief to go with him to Muxadavad.

June 30th.—The detachment ordered yesterday, reinforced by the Company's Grenadiers, 200 *seapoys* and two field pieces, escorted Colonel Clive to Muxadavad, the whole army ordered in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

July 1st.—The army remained in quarters.

July 2nd.—Received intelligence of the late Nabob Sirajah Dowlat being taken prisoner.

July 3rd.—Sirajah Dowlat brought prisoner to Muxadavad and killed by Meer Jaffier's eldest son.

20. *Extract from a 'Journal of the Proceedings of the Troops commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive on the expedition to Bengal.'*

Jan. 19th.—Whilst these things were transacting at Hughley the remainder of the troops marched out (*viz.* on the 11th) and encamped under the bank of Chichapore Tank which was fortified immediately for the reception of our *bazar*, cooleys and baggage, in case the Nabob should make an attack upon us. The *Salisbury* anchored off the avenue that leads to the river side in order to keep open our communication with it and to facilitate it, we erected a battery about 400 yards to the westward of the camp. Another battery was also raised about the same distance north-east of the Tank to scour the plain leading to Dumdumma Bridge and an epaulement thrown up on the right and left flanks of our encampment, in which situation we waited for the Nabob till . . .

February 2nd.—When the van of his army came within forty miles and next day passed on to the skirts of Calcutta over Dumdumma Bridge.

About noon a party was sent under the command of Captain La Beaume to the redoubt of Bogbuzar to cover that part of the town; and prevent the enemy's plunderers from annoying the inhabitants, which they effected, taking 30 or 40 prisoners and killing several more. In the evening the major part of the troops advanced towards the enemy to discover their situation, and whether they were making any lodgment that could disturb us: whereupon a cannonading ensued which

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was soon discontinued as night came on, when both parties returned to their respective camps. In this affair Captains Weller and Fraser were slightly wounded and four men killed on our side and on the enemy's fell eight horses with their riders.

Feb. 4th.—In the morning the main body of their army appeared in sight, in which was the Nabob himself, who having signified the day before his inclinations to treat with [us] two commissaries deputed by us, Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton were accordingly dispatched with his messenger.

Coming to the place appointed they found the Nabob had proceeded on his march, and did not get up with him till, passing through his camp which extended a considerable way, they came to Amichund's Gardens. The Nabob and his Minister's behaviour seeming trifling and tending only to distress us by protracting time, it was on their return determined to put the thing to a decisive issue by attacking his camp early next morning, for which purpose the Admiral was requested to send 600 seamen who joined us.

Feb. 5th.—At 3 in the morning, and half an hour after we marched with 470 rank and file, 800 *seapoys*, six field pieces, one howitzer and 70 of the Train besides the above body of seamen, half of whom were employed in drawing the guns, whilst the other half bore arms.

At daybreak we arrived close to the Nabob's camp before we were challenged, when we received a brisk fire from several quarters, which was returned by our advanced *seapoys*. The enemy retreated, and we pursued our march through their camp undisturbed, till on reaching the center of it, a body of 300 horse appeared in the fog within ten yards of the battalion and being pressed on by those in the rear (who were ignorant of their being so near) were obliged to pass along our right flank as we were marching by files, but on facing the battalion to the right and giving them two fires by platoons, such havock was made amongst them, that by all accounts not above thirteen escaped, some of the platoons being obliged to open to let them drop clear of them. After this their whole army began to surround us in great bodies which obliged us to keep them at a distance by a constant fire of musquetry and artillery. We were full two hours in marching through their camp, several charges being made on our rear by the horse; though not with equal courage to their first. About 11 we arrived at the Fort from whence a subaltern with forty-five military and 100 *seapoys* fresh from the garrison were detached immediately by boat to secure our camp, which the enemy had not made the least attempt upon, though only 300 *bucksarries*, 100 *seapoys*, and a few seamen besides the sick were left

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to guard it. In the evening the troops being a little refreshed, marched back also to camp where they arrived about 7 at night.

An unlucky fog prevented our attack upon the Nabob's head quarters, which, if successful, would have made the action more decisive; however as it was the enemy suffered very considerably, the sailors and *seapoys* in the rear destroying everything the van had passed. The Nabob's army consisted of about 20,000 horse, and 30,000 foot with 50 pieces of cannon. And by the best accounts 1,300 were killed and wounded including 22 officers, some of whom were of great distinction. Upwards of 500 horse were counted upon the spot, besides four elephants, some camels, and a number of bullocks. The loss on our side amounted to 39 Europeans killed and disabled, 20 seamen and 26 *seapoys*, and 113 of all kinds wounded, most of whom are in a fair way. Captains Pye and Bridge with Mr. Belches the Colonel's secretary fell in the beginning of the action.

The enemy's apprehensions of another attack (which was indeed intended) were so great that they kept up a constant fire all night.

Feb. 6th.—They decamped, the Nabob sending an ambassador with offers of agreeing to our proposals.

Whilst the treaty was carrying on, their army lay encamped on the other side of Dumduma Bridge.

Feb. 8th.—Everything being concluded on, the Nabob began his march to Muxadavad.

Feb. 14th.—We encamped about 400 yards nearer the river.

Feb. 18th.—We crossed it, and encamped near to Barnagull.

Thus far Maskelyne who returned lately to the coast in the *Walpole*, having been much indisposed by a flux. He left Calcutta, I mean the river, the 16th of March and

March 8th.—Colonel Clive marched towards Chandernagore by land, which he reached in five days having had several skirmishes with the enemy in the way.

March 13th.—He broke ground before the place and in nine days possessed himself of the town and all the out batteries with the loss of one man only and two Lieutenants of the Train bruised by the fall of a house. Paschoud is one of them and the other came from Bombay. The squadron, that is the *Kent* and *Tyger*, were all this time getting up the river, in the passage of which they were greatly retarded by the French having sunk four ships in the channel. This difficulty was at last removed and the two ships drew near the Fort, but before they got within musquet shot the French from sixteen guns made great havock.

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When the broad sides began to fire the enemy soon quitted their guns and in vain attempted to man them, for they lost 150 men in two hours, and the faces of two bastions were in the meantime brought to the ground, so that the Monsieurs hung out a flag and surrendered at discretion. The French had at first 650 Europeans and 300 or 400 *topasses* and *seapoys;* great quantities of stores especially naval ones were found in the place and the plunder 'tis thought will be eight *lack* notwithstanding the Dutch (as usual) have secured all they could get to Chinchura. Admiral Watson has restored all private property, which gives some uneasiness, especially as he offered the French fair terms at first hoping to spare the lives of his men.

The quarter-deck of the *Kent* was cleared of every man but the Admiral and pilot, Captain Speke and all the officers being killed or wounded, as are about 150 men in both ships. 'Tis a glorious affair, and redounds much to the honour of the naval officers whose behaviour they can hardly praise sufficiently. Admiral Pocock arrived at Calcutta time enough in the *Cumberland* to get to the *Tyger* and hoist his flag there before the engagement began, so that there were two Admirals in two ships, a sight not seen at that place before. To give you a clearer idea take the following from Lin's letter to me:

Captain Lin on the taking of Chandernagore, 25 March, 1757.

After a series of embassies, treaties &c. ready to sign with the French, the politicks chopped about and on the 23rd instant the English flag was hoisted at Chandernagore. The *Tyger* suffered vastly in seamen, and the *Kent* both in officers and sailors. Captain Speke has his leg sadly mauled, and his son Billy has lost one of his with part of his thigh by the same shot. That charming young fellow Perau [Perreau] was shot through the head, and Second Lieutenant Hayes lost his thigh and is since dead. As we were under cover of houses we suffered little, though we greatly incommoded the enemy in reverse by our shot and shells. It must be owned considering all things that the Messieurs made a good defence, though the Fort held out only two hours after the ships came before it, but had been invested by us land folks I think nine days before. What hastened the fate of Chandernagore was a letter from the Nabob offering us many fine things and a *lack* of rupees per month to come and join him against the Afghans who were on their march towards him. He was immediately answered that we obeyed his demands and had marched thus far in compliance therewith. He then took the alarm, sent another most civil letter begging we would

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not proceed, because he had settled his affairs. After many other letters we at last made free with this Settlement. Whether it will in the end prove a political stroke I know not, but fear the contrary from our situation. However everybody enjoys the present success and many look no further.

The 27th instant arrived at Madrass the *Revenge*, the *Protector* and *Marlborough* from Bengal, from whence we learn that there is a probability that Colonel Clive will remain there this year. Mrs. Latham and Mrs. Clive set out to-morrow for Madrass and 'tis said from thence with Mrs. Rumbold to Bengal. Kilpatrick intends to go home in September next, for which I am sorry because if Colonel Clive leaves Bengal they will then want a commanding officer. I reckon we shall soon have more news for there are other things in agitation. Adieu.

I am, dear sir, most sincerely yours, J. C.

21. *Colonel Clive's Military Journal, 2 March to 25 March*, 1757.

March 2nd, 1757.—The grenadiers and Captain Gaupp's company were ordered to embark for the Coast.

March 4th.—The orders for the embarkation of these two companies were countermanded, and this evening they returned to camp.

March 5th.—Lieutenant Molitur with 8 sergeants, 8 corporals, 2 drums and 53 privates besides 43 *topasses*, in all 114, arrived at camp from Bombay.

March 8th.—The army marched six miles to the northward and continued to march except a halt on the 11th at the French Gardens.

March 12th.—Captain Buchanan with 11 sergeants, 11 corporals, 3 drums, and 61 privates, besides 28 *topasses*, from Bombay, joined the troops at camp.

The army marched and encamped about two miles to the west of Chandernagore; same day the sailors belonging to the *Marlborough* and doing duty in our Train of artillery were ordered to return on board.

March 13th.—At night the Company's grenadiers were sent to join the picquet with orders to take possession of the French Bounds, and to annoy and alarm the enemy at their out-batteries, which accordingly they did, and took possession of a battery to the north-west of Chandernagore Fort, which was abandoned by the French.

14th.—Captain-Lieutenant Edgerton with 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drum, 9 privates and 24 *topasses* from Bombay arrived at camp.

At 6 o'clock this morning the Declaration of War with France was read in camp. Immediately after Major Killpatrick with half the troops

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was ordered to advance to the post which the grenadiers had taken possession of the night before. In sight of this battery and within a hundred yards of the north-west bastion of the Fort was another, from which the enemy played down an avenue with two field pieces and musketry, but did little execution on account of the too great distance. Soon after some *seapoys* were ordered to advance under cover on each side the avenue with an intention of flanking the enemy's battery. The King's and Company's grenadiers followed to sustain them. On perceiving our people approach they began a smart fire; notwithstanding we gained ground, and took possession of some houses within fifty yards. A continual fire was kept up on both sides for a considerable time, in which the enemy lost several men; 1 sergeant and 4 Europeans we found dead and buried them. Captain Lin was ordered with two hundred Europeans and some companies of *seapoys* to reconnoitre the batteries to the westward and southward of the town, (though we had no particular information of the enemy's situation that could be depended on, we had been told that they had fortified all the avenues of the town which led to the Fort), and if possible to take possession of them, but on a nearer approach they were found too well maintained to be directly stormed, so, by the direction of a guide sent him, he marched to the southward, having one voluntier wounded, and about 6 o'clock in the evening lodged himself in the Prussian Gardens close to the river side, where when the enemy perceived him, they began a cannonadement from a half-moon battery 900 yards southward of the Fort, which continued (without doing any execution) till dark.

The attack on the north-west battery continued likewise till dark, during which time the enemy's voluntiers and other Europeans sallied out on an advanced party of the King's grenadiers, who soon repulsed them with considerable loss. On our side was only two grenadiers wounded, and Mr. Tooke, a voluntier, received a shot through his body, of which he soon after died. We had besides several *seapoys* killed and wounded in this skirmish.

At night a detachment of the troops were left to maintain the post we got possession of, and the rest returned to camp.

March 15th.—At daybreak we found the enemy had spiked up their guns, abandoned all their outworks, and retired to the Fort; upon which we took possession of them and invested the place by occupying all the houses within a hundred yards of the Fort, and the same evening began to bombard the place from five small mortars and a cohorn.

March 16th.—This evening the 13 inch mortar began to play upon the

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Fort, and several small parties by way of alerts advanced under the walls to keep the enemy constantly awake. From this time to the 20th we were employed, whilst the ships were moving up, in erecting one five gun battery of 24 pounders, and one of three of the same caliper, bombarding the Fort at the same time, and keeping up a constant fire of musketry all round the place from the tops of the houses.

March 20th.—The ships came to an anchor off the Prussian Gardens a mile and a half distant from the Fort, while they sent up boats to sound the passage, where the enemy had sunk some vessels to prevent their approach. This day 200 *seapoys* arrived here from Madras.

We had now completed our two batteries, one of which was within a hundred and the other a hundred and eighty yards of the south-east bastion; the three gun battery was designed to play on a mud one of theirs close under the walls of the Fort and the southern flank of the north-east bastion, which could chiefly annoy the ships whilst coming up to the attack. Our three gun battery had been one of theirs which we had reversed.

The enemy having discovered where we were erecting our five gun battery, and seeing guns mounted on the other, kept a warm fire on both, by which they knocked down many adjacent houses, and by the fall of a verandah two artillery officers and two matrosses were wounded, and some *lascars* and *coolies* buried in the ruins.

Upon finding that the enemy attempted to dismount the guns of our nearest battery, we immediately threw a number of sand bags into the embrazures, and kept such a fire of musketry from behind them that the guns of the south-east bastion could no longer play on our battery. At night we compleated our batteries, and ready to open them, on the ships moving up. At 6 in the evening the King's troops embarked on board the squadron.

March 23rd.—Before daylight all the troops were ordered to the batteries, and took possession of all houses that overlooked the bastions of the Fort.

At 6 o'clock we perceived the ships under way, and as soon as they came within reach of the enemy's guns we opened both our batteries and began an incessant fire of musketry from all quarters, as well as from a field piece and howitzer. This made it very difficult for them to stand to their guns, especially at the mud battery on the water side, from which the ships expected the greatest mischief.

About a quarter before seven the *Tyger* who led came to her station opposite to the eastern face of the north-east bastion, and the *Kent* soon

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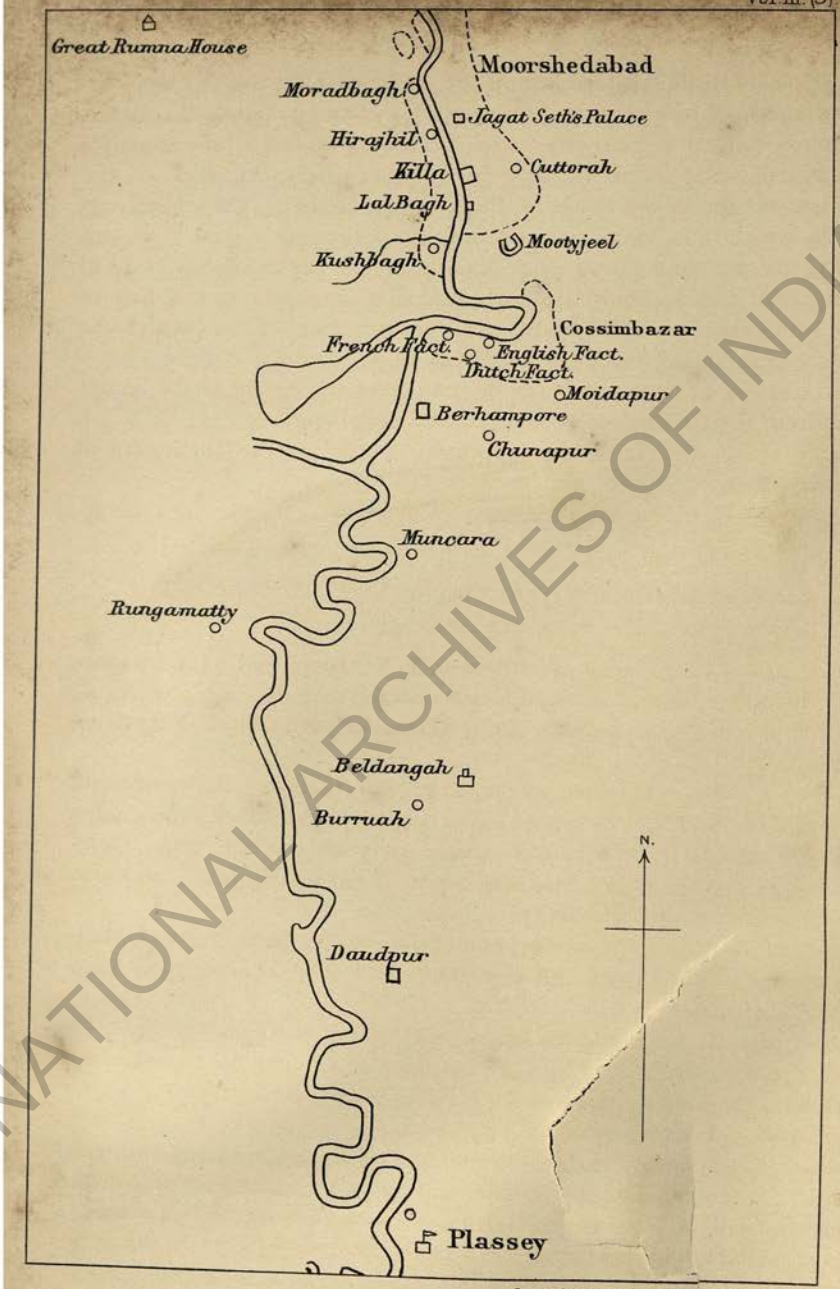

Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t London.

COSSIMBAZAR RIVER, PLASSEY TO MOORSHEDABAD.

Scale: 5 miles to 1 inch.

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after, opposite to the eastern face of the south-east bastion. The *Salisbury* followed. From this time till a quarter before 9 o'clock the attack continued with the greatest vigour on all sides, when the enemy's defences being almost ruined, as well by the fire from the ships as the batteries on shore, particularly the saliant angle of the south-east bastion, which was in a manner entirely destroyed by our five gun battery, and an appearance of a breach in the eastern faces of both the northern and southern bastions, the French hung out a flag of truce, surrendered the Fort and themselves prisoners of war, which the King's troops landed and took possession of.

March 24th.—Lieutenant Corneille with the detachment of the King's troops from the *Cumberland* arrived at Chandernagore.

March 25th.—We removed our camp a mile to the northward of Chandernagore.

Lieutenant Corneille with his party joined us.

22. *Journal of Military Proceedings on the Expedition to Muxadavad.*

June 12th.—Orders were given out that the troops at Chandernagore should hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and this evening the military from Calcutta with Major Kilpatrick joined us.

June 13th.—The whole army, consisting of 190 artillery, between 8 and 900 military, and 2,200 *seapoys* with eight pieces of cannon and a howitzer, march from Chandernagore early in the morning. The Europeans embarked in boats, the *sepoys* marched by land, and this evening both reached Niasarray.

June 14th.—We left Niasarray, and about 8 at night arrived at Culna. This morning Mr. Watts and the gentlemen who had escaped from Cassimbuzar met us.

June 15th.—At 5 o'clock we landed and marched about five miles to Mirzapore. Notwithstanding the shortness of this march sixteen men fell sick on the road by the evening's being extremely sultry.

June 16th.—We proceeded to Tantesaul.

June 17th.—Were at Pattlee; we halted here to rest the army and sent Captain Coote with 200 Europeans, 500 *sepoys* and two field pieces, to possess himself of Cutwan town and fort about fourteen miles distant, and a post that might have proved extremely advantageous to us, not only from its situation, it lying just by the high road to Muxadavad, and a

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quantity of grain which we were informed was there, but also the assistance which the Fort would have afforded to our boats and the troops in case either of a retreat or their continuance there.

June 19th.—We proceeded to Cutwan and had an account from Captain Coote, while on our march, that he was in possession of both town and Fort. We halted here two days, and on the

June 22nd.—at 5 in the evening crossed the river leaving a subaltern's party and 100 *seapoys* in the Fort and about 12 at night we arrived at Placis after a very long and fatiguing march.

June 23rd.—At daybreak we discovered the Nabob's army at the distance of three miles in full march towards us, upon which the whole were ordered under arms, being in two battalions; the Europeans were told off in four grand divisions, the artillery distributed between them, and the *seapoys* on the right and left of the whole.

Our situation was very advantageous, being in a Grove surrounded with high mud banks; our right and front were entirely covered by the above mud banks, our left by Placis House and the river, our rear by the Grove and a village. The enemy approached apace, covered a fine extensive plain in front of us as far as the eye could discern from right to left, and consisted as we since learned of 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot with more than forty pieces of cannon from 32 to 9 pounders. They began to cannonade from their heavy artillery, which though well pointed could do little execution, our people being lodged under the banks. We could not hope to succeed in an immediate attempt upon their cannon as they were planted almost round and at a considerable distance both from us and each other, we therefore remained quiet in our post in hopes of a successful attack on their camp at night.

About 300 yards from the bank under which we were posted was a pool of water with high banks all round it, and was apparently a post of strength. This the enemy presently took possession of, and would have galled us much from thence but for our advantageous situation with some cannon managed by 50 Frenchmen. Their heavy mettle continued to play very briskly on the Grove.

As their army (exclusive of a few advanced parties) were drawn up at too great distance for our short sixes to reach them, one field piece with a hawitzer was advanced two hundred yards in front, and we could see they played with great success among those that were of the first rank, by which the whole army was dispirited and thrown into confusion.

A large body of horse stretching out on our right, and as by that

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movement we supposed they intended an attempt on the advanced field piece and hawitzer, they were both ordered back.

About 11 o'clock a very heavy shower of rain came on and we imagined the horse would now if ever have charged in hopes of breaking us, as they might have thought we could not then make use of our firelocks, but their ignorance or the brisk fire of our artillery prevented them from attempting it. At 12 a report being made that a party of horse had attacked and taken our boats the picquetts of the night before were ordered out, but the account proving false they were countermanded. The enemy's fire now began to slacken and soon after entirely ceased. In this situation we remained till 2 o'clock, when perceiving that most of the enemy were returned to their camp, we thought it a proper opportunity to seize one of the eminences from which the enemy had much annoyed us in the morning; accordingly the grenadiers of the first battalion with two field pieces and a body of *seapoys* supported by four platoons and two field pieces from the second battalion were ordered to take possession of it, which accordingly they did. This encouraged us to take possession of another advanced post within three hundred yards of the entrance to the enemy's camp; all these motions brought the enemy out of their camp a second time; but in attempting to bring out their cannon they were so galled by our artillery that they could not effect it, notwithstanding they made several attempts. Their horse and foot however advanced much nearer than in the morning, and by their motions made as if they intended to charge us, two or three large bodies being within one hundred and fifty yards. In this situation they stood a very brisk and severe cannonadement, which killed them upwards of 400 men, among which were four or five principal officers. This loss put the enemy into great confusion and encouraged us to attack the entrance into their camp, and an adjacent eminence at the same time, which we effected with little or no loss, although the former was defended by 50 French and a very large body of infantry, and the latter by a body of foot and horse intermixt together. During the heat of the action the remainder of our forces were two or three times ordered to join us, and that order as often countermanded on account of the movement of a large body of horse towards the Grove, whom we had often fired upon to keep at a proper distance; these afterwards proved to be our friends commanded by Meer Jaffier. The entrance to the camp being gained a general rout ensued and the whole army continued the pursuit for upwards of six miles which for

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want of horse answered no other purpose than that of taking all their artillery consisting of 40 pieces of cannon, and all their baggage.

This night we lay at a small village called Daudpore.

June 24th.—At 5 in the evening we marched to Binna (or Burrua).

June 25th.—We reached Maudipore and remained there till the

June 27th.—When we marched one battalion to the English and the other to the French Factory at Cassimbuzar.

Transcribed by Henry Parsons and examined with Thomas Lane.

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APPENDIX II.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

A.—EXTRACTS FROM ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

23. *The 'London Chronicle.' Thursday, 2 June, to Saturday, 4 June, 1757. (No. 67.)*

Foreign Transactions.

Paris, May 27.—We have received advice from the East Indies, by way of Constantinople that the Nabob of Bengal has destroyed all the possessions of the English upon the Ganges to the amount of 50,000,000 of livres, and that this Prince afterwards went upon the coast of Coramandel, where he has declared, that he will do his utmost to destroy all that belongs to the English.[1]

24. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Saturday, 4 June, to Tuesday, 7 June, 1757. (No. 68.)*

London.

The East India Company's ships *Portfield*, *Edgcote* and *Chesterfield* are arrived at Limerick, from the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and bring advice that on the death of Alliverdee Cawn, the late Nabob of the province of Bengal, his grandson and successor Sourajee Doulah made most exorbitant demands on the Company for money, which not being immediately complied with, he marched down in the month of June to Calcutta with an army of 60,000 men, and made himself master thereof, together with all the Settlements of the Company in the Province of Bengal, exercising most inhuman cruelties. The French and Dutch having seen the fate of the English, made their peace with the Nabob with large sums of money.

The Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay have each detached a large number of men in conjunction with His Majesty's squadron

[1] A note to the same effect appears in the *Public Advertiser* of June 4, 1757.

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under Admiral Watson, to re-establish the Settlement of Fort William, in which they had great hopes of succeeding.[1]

(*In the same issue.*)

The gentlemen and officers of our Factory at Calcutta that were killed and escaped, according to a list handed about are numerous. The number of private men is not yet computed, but we hear 175 of our people who fled to the River Ganges were taken, and put into a dungeon, whence only 17 came out alive. It's said the Indians have since put the French in possession of our Factories.

Notice of arrival of Indiamen to and from India.

The *Protector*, Captain James, has taken and carried into Tullicherry the *Indian*, Captain Bussaw, from Pondicherry, of 24 guns and 200 men, valued at near £40,000.

25. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Tuesday, 7 June, to Thursday, 9 June, 1757. (No. 69.)*

Extract from a letter[2] *received by the India ships arrived in Ireland, containing a particular account of the unfortunate affair at Bengal.*

The latter end of May 1756, our late Nabob died, and the present Nabob was established; who immediately invested Cossimbuzar without any other pretence (as he said) than that he had received many insults from Governor Drake. Finding our gentlemen determined not to give up the Factory without making an opposition, he proposed a truce, and inveigled Mr. Watts, our Cheif to his tent, under pretence of accomodating matters. When he got him to his tent, he made him sign a paper, acknowledging himself indebted to the Nabob in a large sum of money; and then ordered him to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson, two of the Council. As soon as they came to the Nabob's tent, he secured Mr. Batson and sent Mr. Collet back to prevail on our people to surrender the Factory, with the guns, ammunition, &c., at discretion, keeping Mr. Watts as hostage for the performance of it.

On the 4th of June the Factory of Cossimbuzar was surrendered, notwithstanding it was warmly opposed by many of the gentlemen.

[1] A note to the same effect in the *Public Advertiser*, June 6, 1757.

[2] This appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxvii., for June, 1757. It and the following letter are combined in *Read's Weekly Journal* for June 11, 1757. The letter from which it is an extract appears in full in the *Universal Magazine* for June, 1757, and is reprinted below. It is also given in the Scotch papers. See below, Nos. 49 and 55.

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As soon as he had performed this exploit, he immediately marched with all his forces, consisting of 70,000 horse and foot to Calcutta, threatening to drive all the English out of the country. On the 15th, he began the siege by attacking one of the redoubts at the entrance of the town, but was repulsed with a great slaughter of his men. The next day he made an attack on our advanced posts at the Gaol and Court House, which kept a constant fire on his troops, by which many of them were killed. Notwithstanding this opposition another attack was made on the 18th, when those posts were abandoned by our troops, which gave the Nabob's forces an entrance into the town, and obliged us to retreat to the Fort.

A Council of War being called to consider of the state of affairs, the Captain of the Train acquainted the Council, that there was not ammunition in the Fort for three days; on which the women were sent on board the shipping lying before the Fort. The Governor and some of the principal officers likewise got on board the ships and went away, leaving the people in the Fort without a possibility of securing a retreat.

The whole number left in the Fort being 250 effective men, we held out till the 20th in the evening, when the ammunition being near spent a flag of truce was hung out. During the parley from the walls the back gate was betrayed by the Dutch guard and we were obliged to surrender at discretion. The same night 170 of us were crammed into a hole not large enough for fifty of us to breathe in; the effect of it was, that only sixteen were alive the next morning. Four of us were sent to the Nabob's camp, and put into irons; but what became of the other twelve that escaped hell in miniature, I have not been able to learn.

A list[1] *of the persons killed in the defence of Calcutta and Fort William when attacked by the Moors in June, 1756, also those who died in the Black Hole, overheated and for want of water.*

Edward Eyre, Esq. died in the Black Hole.

William Baillie Esq. with a shot in his head.

Thomas Bellamy shot himself before the attack.

Thomas Coles had a shot in the breast, and died in the Black Hole.

The Rev. Mr. Bellamy, Captain Clayton, Captain Buchannan, Captain Witherington, and Captain Simpson died in the Black Hole.

[1] Omitted in the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

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Captain P. Smith killed by a shot on one of the bastions.
Lieutenants Picard wounded, and died before the place was taken.
Talbot wounded, and died after he was let out of the Black Hole.
Bishop died of his wounds before the place was taken.
Bellamy and Hayes died in the Black Hole.
Ensigns Blagg cut to peices on a bastion.
Scott and Wedderburne died in the Black Hole.

Gentlemen in the Company's service: Messrs. Jenks, Reveley, Law, Valicourt and Jebb died in the Black Hole; Carse cut to pieces, having rashly fired a pistol after the place was taken; Smith and Wilkinson cut to pieces, bravely defending a pass; Dalrymple died in the Black Hole; Throseby shot dead on the battery at Perriags Garden.

Taken prisoners and sent up to Muxaduvad, after having come out of the Black Hole, John Zephinia Holwell, Esq., Mr. Richard Court, senior merchant, Mr. Bourdett, a writer; Ensign Wallcott, dead.

At Cossimbuzar were made prisoners, William Watts, Esq., Chief, and Messrs. Collet, Batson and Hastings of the Council; Messrs. Watts, junior, Sykes, Marriot and Chambers, writers; Lieutenant Elliot and about fifty military. The Nabob has given Messrs. Watts and Collet their liberty and permitted Mrs. Watts and her three children to live in the French Factory at Cossimbuzar.

Lieutenant Elliot shot himself some days after Cossimbuzar Factory was delivered up to the Moors.

Stephen Page, Edward Page, Street, Grub, Harrod, N. Drake, Dodd, Joniano, Johnston junior, Bing, Orr and Gosling, died in the Black Hole.

Captains of ships, mates and others: Captain Collings drowned in making his escape, Hunt died in the Black Hole, Jennings ditto, Purnel killed in the attack, Stephenson ditto, Mr. Dumbleton wounded and died in the Black Hole; Parker, Cary, Macpherson, Guy, Whitby, Fidecombe killed in the attack; Porter, Cocker, Bendal, Meadows, Read, died in the Black Hole; Osborne wounded, Barnet, Frere, Wilson, Burton Leach, Tilley, Cartwright, Lion, Alsop, Hillier, died in the Black Hole.

Europeans who were in Calcutta when it was taken, but escaped being put into the Black Hole, and were ordered to leave Calcutta by the Moors themselves: Pahra[1] John Knox, George Gray, junior, Captain Mills, Mr. Kerwood, and a few seafaring people.

[1] Evidently a mistake for Patna, where John Knox, senior, had served as surgeon.

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Extract from another letter from the East Indies, dated 15 December, 1756.[1]

In the month of September we heard that our Settlement in Bengal was taken, and in the beginning of October we had a confirmation of it.

The destruction of that place will be a great loss to the Company. [As I have seen the letter which was sent to the Governor and Council here I shall give you the substance of the affair.][2]

It seems that the Governor and Council at Bengal protected an old Nabob, deposed, from the resentment of a young one, his successor. The latter sent to demand him, but the English refused to deliver him up: upon which he raised an army of 30,000 horse and the same number of foot, with three or 400 elephants of war. The English sent out spies to discover their number, which they never knew exactly, till they were just upon them. They summoned the Fort to deliver up the old Nabob, promising upon that condition to withdraw their troops immediately; but this was again refused. The enemy then threw up a small breast-work opposite to the Fort, and mounted two 12 pounders upon it. They fired two or three times in an hour; but if they had fired till doomsday, they could never have made a breach. However, long before any real attack had been made, the [Governor] run away aboard a ship in the morning; the counsellours and their wives in the afternoon, leaving Mr. Holwell behind, who said he would stay and defend the place to the last extremity. Being thus left with only a few gentlemen and some military officers, he called a Council of War. The soldiers grumbling at not being permitted to escape, he divided three chests of the treasure among them, and secured the keys of the gates himself; and the next morning stood to the defence of the place gallantly. The *Moguls* kept firing their two twelve-pounders to no purpose; for all the mischeif proceeded from the Counsellors' houses being built close round the Fort. In these houses the enemy lodged themselves, and galled the English greatly. During all this time the Fort fired constantly, and dislodged them several times; but the third day (I think it was the third) most of our men being killed and all the rest wounded (with only two hours' ammunition left) Mr. Holwell thought to have made an honourable retreat, by hanging out a flag of truce to amuse the enemy; but the ships in the river had dropt down several miles from the Fort, and did not leave even a boat for the others to escape in. The soldiers that night knocked off the lock of

[1] Also in *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1757. [2] Omitted in *Gentleman's Magazine.*

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the little gate (Mr. Holwell having the keys) and let in the *Moguls*, who immediately loaded them with irons, and crammed them into a place called the Black Hole, for that night. But out of the 175 that went in, only sixteen came out alive next morning, among whom were Mr. Holwell and Mr. Burdett, a writer: [This is the only writer mentioned that escaped smothering. Mr. Lushington a writer, got on board the ships after the Fort was taken; likewise Mr. Charlton; these are the only writers out of eight, that were saved; the other five were smothered in the Hole with the rest by the excessive heat.][1]

The next day they carried Mr. Burdett to accompany Mr. Holwell up the country, loaded with irons, and gave them only rice and water for their provision. They likewise obliged them to walk three days through the sun without any covering: and when they arrived at their journey's end, put them into a cow-house, where they narrowly escaped another smothering. However, in three days they dismissed them. From thence they went to Muxadavatt.

The 28th of October we sent three ships full of troops and ammunition, to reinstate the Company's servants, as we hear it will be delivered up to us shortly. The Company is reported to have lost by this affair two *crow* of rupees. Each *crow* contains a hundred *lack*, and each *lack* an hundred thousand; that is twenty millions of rupees, which make two million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

The same day our ambassadors arrived from Pooner, where they had been three weeks treating with the Maratta Prince, to whom we have delivered Gheria, and they in return have given us several villages at Sevenrooke.

26. '*Public Advertiser*,' 7 *June*, 1757.

We hear by private advices from India that the brave Captain David Clayton (second in command at Calcutta, the Commandant having repaired on board the Company's ships in the Ganges) defended the place with the utmost gallantry, and was one of the sixty officers put in the Black Hole, where they perished miserably.

27. *The* '*Public Advertiser*,' 8 *June*, 1757.

By the East India Company's, as well as many private letters, it is advised, that the measures taken by the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, in conjunction with Admiral Watson, who commands the

[1] Omitted in *Gentleman's Magazine*.

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naval, and Colonel Clive the land forces, there is the greatest reason to hope, that the Company would not only be very soon re-established in Bengal, but that ample satisfaction will be obtained of the Nabob for what the Company have suffered by him.

There are also many letters that mention the *Mogul's* having marched a large army in to these Provinces, which was said to be actually arrived near Muxadavad in order to subdue the Nabob Sourajee Doulah, and fix another Nabob in these provinces.

N.B.—This paper contains on the same date a long account of the wreck of the 'Doddington.' Of 270 on board only 23 were saved.

28. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Thursday, 9 June, to Saturday, 11 June, 1757. (No. 70.)*

We have to add to the list of persons who suffered in the defence of Calcutta and Fort William.

At Dacco were made prisoners, Richard Becher, Esq., Chief, and Messrs. Scrafton, Hyndman Waller and Cartier, of the Council; Mr. Wilson, Surgeon, Mr. Johnston, senior, a writer; Mrs. Beecher and child; Mrs. Warwick, Miss Harding, Ensign Cudmore and about twenty-five military. The above were afterward permitted to live in the French Factory at Dacco, by whose intercession they were set at liberty.

English on board the ships and vessels at Fulta, July 1756. Governor Drake; Charles Manningham, William Frankland and William Macket, Esq. of the Council; Paul Richard Pearkes, Esq. of the Council was taken prisoner but made his escape; Captain George Minchin; Captain Alexander Grant; Ensign Castairs, wounded; Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, Lieutenant of Militia.

Gentlemen in the Company's service. Messrs. Sumner; Cooke, Secretary, was taken prisoner and put into the Black Hole, afterwards made his escape; Billers, O'Hara, Rider, Ellis, Lindsay dead; Tooke senior;[1] Lushington was in the Black Hole; Charlton, Vasmer, Leister.

Free merchants, captains of ships, mates and others. Messrs. Beaumont, Margas since dead, Cruttenden, Carvalho, Douglas, Baldric, Wood, Nixon, Holmes, Putham, Le Beaume; Captain Rannie, David Graham since dead, Wedderburne, Walmsley, Austin,

[1] There was only one Company's servant named Tooke. The word 'senior' evidently refers to William Ascanius Senior.

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Laing since dead, Widderington, Saunders, Baillie, Campbell, Lewis, Lord; Best and Baldwin dead, Young, Costelly, Whatmore, Cozens, Nicholson, dead. Doctors Fullerton, G. Gray, Taylor and Knox, junior, were taken prisoners, but made their escape; Mr. Child, schoolmaster; Atkinson and Ridge, attorneys; Pyfinch a writer; Blany, a glass-grinder; Burton, a butcher; Coverly the gaoler; Mackpherson, cooper; Cockylane a French sea-faring gentleman; Champion, Summers and Smith, mates of ships; Ling a musician; Cole, carpenter; Dacco Conlas; three Portuguese priests; Monsieur Albert, a French gentleman.

Mr. Thomas Boddom Chief at Balsore with Mr. English, Captain Keene, since dead, and about twenty-five military, quitted the Factory at Balsore, agreeable to the Governor and Council's order, and joined the fleet at Fulta some time after Calcutta was taken.

Mr. Peter Amyat, Chief at Jugdea Factory, with Messrs. Pleydel, Verelst, Smyth, Hay, and Ensign Mure, with about twenty military, quitted Jugdea Factory at Balsore,[1] agreeable to the Governor and Council's order, and joined the fleet at Fulta some time after Calcutta was taken.

Women and children on board the ships and vessels at Fulta, June 1756; Lady Russel, Mrs. Drake and two children; Mrs. Cruttenden dead, three children; Mrs. Mackett, two; Mrs. Mapletoft, two; Mrs. Gray, one; Mrs. M'Guire, three; Mrs. Cooke, one; Mrs. Buchannan, one; Mrs. Dumbleton, two; Mrs. Coales, one; Mrs. Rannie, two; Mrs. Wedderburne, one; Mrs. Tournac, one; Mrs. Knox, two; Mrs. Robertson, four; Mrs. Packer, one; Mrs. Aston, three.

Mrs. Amyatt, Sumner, Riccards, Duncan, Major Holland's widow; Ross, Jacobs, Griffith, Searle, Beard, Margas, Putham, Clayton, Parker, Rainbow, Edwards, French, Renbault, Chapman, Finley, Gooding and Bellamy dead; Barclay, Cockylane, Gould, Hunt, Holland, Young, Woolley, Smith, Child, Porter, Lord, Bowers; Miss Bellamy, since married; Miss Jobbins, Bagley, Carey, Seale and the two Miss Cavalhos.[2]

[1] Apparently the printer has accidentally repeated the last lines of the preceding paragraph. Jugdea is many miles to the east of Calcutta, whilst Balasore is some distance to the south or south-west.

[2] Here follows an account of Calcutta, taken from Captain Hamilton, amusingly appended to a paragraph describing 'Calicut or Fort William . . . a town on the Malabar Coast, in the hither Peninsula of India in Asia, East Long. 75, North Lat. 11·20,' 300 miles south of Goa, and 320 miles south-west of Fort Saint George.

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29. *'Lloyd's Evening Post,'* 14 *to* 16 *June*, 1757.

In a letter from Bengal to a gentleman at Bombay it is said that the following vessels were lost and taken by the Moors:

Prince Edward	Dickson.
Saint George	Hage.
Neptune	Austin.
Adventure	Pickering.
Adventure	Campbell.
Calcutta sloop	Winsor Whatmore.

30. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Thursday*, 16 *June, to Saturday*, 18 *June*, 1757. (*No.* 73.)

A translation of a letter from M. Durand in the French Company's service at Chandernagor, to M. Picot de la Motte at Matey, 2 *July*, 1756.[1]

Alvedeikam, Nabob of Bengal, having died about two months ago, his nephew and godson, Saradjot Dollah, succeeded him. This succession occasioned much discontent and trouble, which, notwithstanding his cruel and tyrannous disposition, he found means to appease for some time by some acts of kindness to the common people. But this lasted not long, and he soon resumed his barbarous habit, ill-treating everybody about him, but more particularly those of any distinction, seizing all their riches and effects; and for the more certain execution of this purpose, he strictly forbad the European nations to give any of them any protection or retreat, and to seize on their monies and concerns, which we and the Dutch have very strictly complied with: the English did not, but on the contrary they sheltered several at Golgotha (or Calcutta) who had very large sums with them. Saradjot Dollah, being apprized thereof ordered the English to deliver them up immediately with their effects, and caused the Fort at Cassembuzar to be surrounded by five or six hundred men; assuring them, that if they did not comply forthwith, they should have cause to repent it. The English were deaf to his summons, and obstinately refused to deliver up a single person; and sent him word from Cassembuzar that if he did not withdraw his troops he had posted round the Fort, they would instantly fire on them. The Nabob, irritated at this menace, and at their non-compliance with his orders, sent two days after (2 June) about 20,000 men to join the

[1] See *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1757.

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600 and seize the Fort, which though small was regularly built, mounted 60 cannon, and had about 300 men. However, he deferred attacking it, till he had proposed a treaty of accomodation with Mr. Watts the Chief, whom he summoned to confer with in his tent, distant about a mile and a half, assuring him he should be in no way molested. Mr. Watts imprudently consented, and set out with his surgeon and three or four *peons;* but he was not got a musket's shot distant from the Fort ere they manacled him with a turban, and conducted him in that manner before the Nabob, who would not deign to look on him but hurried him away to Moxudabat.

Those who remained in the Fort, on the loss of their Chief, were forced to surrender the next day, without having exchanged a single shot. The Moors seized on the Fort, seized on everything, ill-treating the people and leaving them scarce a shirt to their backs, and a few days after sent them likewise to Moxoudabat, where they were put into different prisons and holes.

The taking this Fort greatly surprised all nations settled in India, but more particularly the country people; *they hugged themselves in the expectation that the English would defeat the Nabob, and deliver them from his tyranny and oppression;* how much they were mistaken is but too evident.

Sarajot Dollah stopped not here, but flushed with his successes, dispatched near 60,000 troops, with 300 elephants and 500 cannon to Calcutta; writing, at the same time, to Governor Drake to accomodate matters with him, by paying him his duty on the trade carried on for fifteen years past; to defray the expense of his army till his return to Moxoudabat, as well as what he had been at already, and to deliver up the Moorish nobles with all their effects who were then in the Fort. Mr. Drake paid no regard to this letter, but on receipt of a third, or fourth, he tore it in pieces and trampled on it; and the Nabob being advertized of this, advanced by long marches towards Calcutta, where he arrived the 17th. The English had two passes, with three or four guns mounted on each, and guarded by fifty men; but they could make no resistance, and retired to the Fort. The Moors seized on Calldee (*sic*), and were employed twenty-four hours in plundering the houses and stripping the inhabitants, men or women, indiscriminately, leaving them naked.

The 18th of June at noon, they left off plundering, and the Nabob ordered the Fort to be attacked. Mr. Drake thought no further of defending the place, declaring himself to be a Quaker (who never fight)

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and resigned that business to his second; after which he selected 100 men, to whom he caused provisions to be distributed as if he intended to sally forth; which in fact he did, ordering the Fort door to be opened which fronts the River Ganges, and conveying on board the ships the immense sums of money he had got from different people, Armenians, Moors, English, etc., by representing to them that it would be entirely secure in the Fort, and that they had nothing to fear. Some were for sending their money here, which he opposed. He next caused all the ladies to embark, and retreated himself, greatly favoured by a thick smoke, which proceeded from the store-house or magazine which the Moors had set fire to.

The attack was very brisk; the Moors, getting on the tops of the houses, fired at every one that appeared on the bastions; but notwithstanding the heat of their fire, there were but five or six English killed that day, and of the Moors its computed 12 or 15,000, not from the execution of the Fort but by eight ships who were then at anchor in the river.

The 19th, things went on much as the day before; but the English disheartened by the absence of their Governor, and of the hundred men he had taken with him, became fainthearted, and passed the whole night boxing the slobber;[1] so that next morning they were incapable of making any manner of defence. However they did as well as they could till two in the afternoon, when Mr. Holwell, seeing himself deserted by almost everybody, wrote to the Nabob to obtain a capitulation; but, finding that he delayed returning any answer, he hoisted the Moorish colours. This was sufficient. The Moors immediately threw themselves in a body upon the Fort, broke open the doors, and although the Nabob had given orders that nobody should be touched or hurt, yet several were killed and all stripped stark naked, *and in that condition about* 200 *were cast into so small a dungeon, that on opening their door of confinement the next morning* 140 *were found dead.*

The Nabob being got into the Fort, was greatly surprised not to find the treasure he expected, but Mr. Drake had already withdrawn it all. There was in the Fort about 4 or 500 Europeans, and 7 or 800 *topazes*, &c., with ammunition and provisions for four months at least.

Governor Drake on seeing the Fort was taken, received on board the ships as many as escaped from the town and Fort, and hauled off

[1] Apparently a slang expression for 'drinking.'

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out of the enemies' shot. The next day they fell down the river about five or six leagues, and kept a Moorish battery or fort so close on board, that they fired several shots at them, but with so little judgment that they over reached their topmast and did them not the least damage. The ships are now at the entrance of the river, without provisions; and they have already lost two of their number, which ran ashore and were immediately secured by the Moors.

There were several ladies, natives of the country, whom the Moors took prisoners, and will not release them without a considerable ransome for each separately. The amount of the money, &c., Mr. Drake is said to have secured on board, is computed at 300 *lack*.

Three or four days after the taking of Calcutta the Nabob issued forth a declaration, that all the Armenians, English Christians of any denomination, and the common usual inhabitants of Calcutta, might return to the town and that no harm should be done them. But the day before yesterday having received advice, that the English ships were making some stir, he ordered that every individual should quit the spot within three days, and signified that he would cut off the noses and ears of such as paid not due regard to his orders. He has already sent 200 pioneers to raze the town to the ground; Cassembuzar has met with the same fate, as also Daha,[1] and other places, having wrote to the Governor of Madras, that no English subject shall hereafter settle in Bengal. Last night about 400 souls came over to us here, inhabitants of Calcutta either Europeans or country people, amongst whom were captains of ships, supercargoes, or officers in employment, soldiers, &c. The day before yesterday, the Nabob sent us Mr. Watts, late Cheif of Cassembuzar, and his surgeon, and exacted from us a receipt, that they were in good order and well condition on delivery.

You may imagine (my dear Sir) that during these transactions, we were not a little uneasy, as he demanded from us by frequent applications, forces, ammunition, &c., to act against the English; and had assured us, that on our non-compliance, he would divert the stream of his present purposes against us, and we should be the sensible mark of his revenge. He, however, took our case into consideration, we having represented to him strenuously that we were in want of troops, and their necessary supply and other arguments (much in the same strain). But the Nabob, no ways satisfied with these our excuses, and accusing us of siding with the English, on his return from Calcutta,

[1] Dacca.

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proceeded to Hughley, a Moorish town, situated from hence about a league distant, and sent us thence an embassy well escorted, insisting on the immediate mulct or payment of eleven *lack* (£1,375,000 sterling) between the Dutch and us. After many *pro's* and *con's*, the Dutch paid down four *lacks* and an half, and we three *lacks;* but not complying thus with his whole demand, we were still fearful of what might ensue, and therefore we all withdrew to the Fort, resolved to defend ourselves to the utmost, urged and enforced so to do by the late example of their cruelty to the English so recent to our recollection: but happily our fears were groundless. The Nabob set out the next day for his Fort at Moxoudabat, to the entire pleasure and satisfaction of every one, as he is the worst of his neighbours. The country people here about, call the Europeans *banchots*, *i.e.*, cowards and poltroons.

31. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Tuesday, 28 June, to Thursday, 30 June, 1757. (No. 78.)*

[*Erratum* to the above.] For £1,375,000 sterling (the money demanded by the Nabob of Bengal from the French and Dutch) read £137,500 sterling. A *lack* is £12,500 sterling; 300 *lack*, the sum which the Governor carried with him on shipboard, is therefore £3,750,000.

32. *'Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer.' Saturday, 18 June, 1757. (No. 3,930.)*

The late amazing catastrophe of Fort William and the city of Calcutta in Bengal is so much the more surprising, as the English had always lived in a very good understanding with the old Nabob, who on many occasions had shown them much respect and favour. It is certain that for some time past the country Government in India have had a secret jealousy of the Europeans, and were therefore willing to lay hold of any opportunity to convince them that they were not proprietors of the places in which they were settled, but held them by permission, and according to the good pleasure of the *Great Mogul.*

It is true that the old Nabob and the young one shew no great deference or respect to the Court of Dehlie; but notwithstanding this they would have foreigners believe that they are upon good terms with, and derive their authority from the *Mogul.* It is said that monarch has sent his eldest son, with one of his principal generals, and a great army to attend him, in order to dispossess the young Nabob, and to

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place the young Prince in the government of Bengal, and two other great Provinces; the news of which obliged him to leave Calcutta as soon as he had taken it.

33. '*Lloyd's Evening Post*,' 22 *July*, 1757.

Part of a letter from Bengal, 13 *December*, 1756.

Our seasons and heats have been very moderate; the rains very heavy: the greatest heat did not exceed ninety-two degrees. The depth of water fallen, from May to the beginning of October, was ninety-three inches.

34. '*Public Advertiser*,' 22 *July*, 1757.

Extracts from a letter (written) on board the 'Marlborough' *Indiaman in Madras Road*, 10 *October*, 1756.

The *Delawar* sailed with troops to reinforce the garrison at Bengal, but came too late; in a short time after our arrival we had the melancholy news of its being taken by an army of 70,000 men, who carried the place in a very little time, having taken on their march the Factories of Cassimbazar and Dacca. After they had possession they put 250 in a warehouse of whom sixteen only were alive the next morning. The Governor is at Fulta, a small Dutch place with nothing but huts, about twelve leagues distance from Calcutta: the women and the remainder of the inhabitants are on board the ships in the river. The Nabob has quitted the place with the greatest part of his army, but left a garrison to defend it. He is a young man, lately come to the government; and a Frenchman, the Marquis de St. Jaques, commands his army.

This accident has given a great stroke to trade and a severe shock to all the merchants in India, which will be very sensibly felt, as Bengal was the very centre of trade, and loaded more ships than all their Factories in the Malabar and Coromandel Coast together. There were six ship loads of goods in the warehouses when it was taken. As soon as the news arrived, European goods fell 50 *per cent.* and chintz, muslin &c. rose 50 *per cent.* There are no goods to be bought here but at exorbitant prices: and at Bengal there is not a piece of handkerchiefs, muslin or silk left. As Bengal supplied Madras with rice &c. there is almost a famine here: but we hope to make a good market with the commodities they want at Bengal from hence.

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35. '*Public Advertiser*,' 23 *July*, 1757.

Extract of a letter from Plymouth, dated 19 *July*.

This day arrived the *Syren* (Jones) a packet from the East Indies, who sailed from Bengal the first of February, and brings advice that Admiral Watson has retaken from the Moors the Company's Fort at Calcutta, the 29th of January, with very little loss after two hours' resistance. They found all the cannon, stores, most of the bale goods and merchandize in the Factories. . . . The *Syren* left at Bengal the *Kent*, Admiral Watson, *Tyger*, Captain Latham, *Salisbury*, Captain Martin, *Deal-Castle*, Captain Smith, and the *King's Fisher*, Captain Toby. . . . The French Indiaman[1] that was last taken is the ship that the French had appointed to go to Bengal to purchase the English merchandize. It is impossible to guess at the treasure she has on board for that purpose.

36. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Saturday*, 23 *July*, *to Tuesday*, 26 *July*, 1757. (*No.* 89.)[2]

Whitehall, July 23.—By letters from Vice-Admiral Watson dated the 31st of January, off Calcutta, in the River Hughley, there is an account, that having sailed the 16th of October last, with all the squadron, and the *Walpole* and *Marlborough* Indiamen, from Madras for Bengal, he anchored after a tedious passage on the 5th of December in Ballasore Road; and having crossed the Braces on the 8th, proceeded up the river, and arrived at Fulta on the 15th, where he found Governor Drake and the Gentlemen of the Council on board such ships and vessels as had escaped falling into the hands of the Moors. As the Pilots would not take charge of the ships till the Springs were over, the Admiral could not proceed higher till the 28th, when he sailed with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater*, and *King's-Fisher* sloop. The next afternoon Colonel Clive was landed, in order to march and attack Busbudgia Fort by land, at the same time that the squadron appeared before the place, which anchored, and began to cannonade about eight o'clock in the morning on the 30th; and at half past eight the King's troops were landed to support Colonel Clive. The ships soon silenced the enemy's fire; and, at seven in the evening, 100 seamen were landed

[1] This was *L'Indien* (see 'Notice of Arrival of Indiamen,' etc., *London Chronicle*, No. 68). See above, page 70.

[2] See *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1757.

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under the command of Captain King. At half past eight the body of the Fort was on fire, and immediately after news was received that the place was taken, but the few people in it had all escaped. One of the Company's Captains was killed, and four soldiers wounded. This Fort was extremely well situated for defence, having a wet ditch round it, but badly provided with cannon, only eighteen guns, from 24 pounders and downwards, and above forty barrels of powder, with ball in proportion being found in it. On the 1st of January the *Kent* and *Tyger* anchored between Tanna Fort and a battery opposite to it, both which the enemy abandoned as the ships approached. About forty guns, some 24 pounders, and all mounted on good carriages, with some powder and ball, were found in this Fort and battery; and the Admiral left the *Salisbury* as a guardship to prevent the enemy from regaining them. In the night, the Admiral sent the boats, manned and armed up the river to burn a ship and some vessels said to be filled with combustibles, which was executed without opposition. The next morning early, the Company's troops were landed and immediately began their march to Calcutta. The *Kent* and *Tyger* soon after proceeded up the river together with the twenty gun ship and sloop. At 40 minutes after nine, the enemy began to fire upon the *Tyger* from their batteries below Calcutta, which they abandoned as the ships approached. At 20 minutes past ten the *Tyger* and *Kent* made a very warm fire, insomuch that the enemy were soon drove from their guns, and presently after ran out of the Fort, which Captain Coote, with the King's troops, and an officer from the *Kent*, entered a little before eleven. Four mortars, ninety-one guns of different sizes, and a considerable quantity of all kinds of ammunition, were found in this Fort. The ships have suffered very little in their masts, yards and rigging, and have only lost nine seamen and three soldiers killed, and twenty-six seamen and five soldiers wounded. An expedition was then proposed against Hughly, to be executed by the twenty gun ship and sloop, the boats of the squadron manned and armed, assisted by all the King's troops, amounting to 170, the Company's grenadiers, and 200 *seapoys*, which were to be landed under the command of Major Kilpatrick; and everything being prepared, they sailed the 5th of January, under the command of Captain Smith, of the *Bridgewater;* and, on the 11th, the Admiral received an account of the taking of that place, in which were found twenty guns from 24 pounders downwards, with a quantity of ammunition. The city of Hughly has since been burnt and destroyed together with the graineries and storehouses of salt, situate on the banks of each side the river, which will be of great

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prejudice to the Nabob, as they contained a store for the subsistence of his army, while in that part of the country.

37. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Thursday, 28 July, to Saturday, 30 July, 1757.* (*No.* 91.)

Copy of a letter to Mr. Ferguson at the Globe in the Strand, from his brother-in-law at Calcutta, dated 20 January, 1757.

DEAR BROTHER,—I am sorry to say that I believe that you have all in general forgot that there is such a person in being as me. What makes me thinks so is my not having heard from Europe since you wrote to me in December 1754, since which time there has been many alterations in these parts, both public and private. As for myself seven months ago I was worth £350 in ready money; now I am reduced so as to be not worth a groat, as is almost every man in Bengal. In short this colony was reduced in eighteen days' time from one of the most flourishing to one of the most wretched places upon earth: the particulars of which I shall relate as well as I can.

Sometime in the month of May 1756, one of the Nabob of Bengal's chief men ran away from Moxoudabat (the Nabob's cheif residence) and came first to Cassembuzar, one of our Factories, and from thence to Calcutta; and asked and obtained protection of the English. This the Nabob resented as a high indignity, and demanded satisfaction, but could obtain none. His messenger was even affronted, and sent away in a disgraceful manner. He was now enraged to a high degree; he was in the field intending to make war on the Nabob of Borneo,[1] one of his neighbours and cousin german; but upon the accounts he received from Calcutta, he first possessed himself of Cassembuzar, on the 4th of June without bloodshed. From thence he bent his march to Calcutta and with great expedition arrived the 16th of the same month, with about twenty pieces of cannon, and an army of thirty thousand regular troops; and it was reckoned there were as many men followed his camp for the sake of plunder, as is the custom of these Eastern countries. But before I proceed further it will be proper to inform you of the posture the place was in.

Calcutta is a large irregular place, something bigger than Rotherhithe and Deptford. Its only defence is a small fort, badly contrived and worse provided. It is of an oblong form, with four bastions and a Line of guns towards the water side; on the bastions may be mounted about

[1] i.e., Purnea.

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forty-eight guns. When it was attacked, the garrison, militia and volunteers amounted to five hundred and eleven men, black and white; most of them raw and new-raised. The other inhabitants of all sorts and sexes, colours and religions, were computed to be about an hundred and fifty thousand. The Fort was very badly provided with ammunition, few guns mounted, and those very much out of repair; no ditch nor other defence about the Fort.

Such was the state of the place when the Nabob invested it on all sides; which he did on the 16th of June 1756. The thing was so sudden that there was no time to provide for any long defence. All that was done out of the Fort was to erect three batteries at three convenient passes, about five hundred yards from the Fort. These he attacked and gained on the 17th; then his army possessed themselves of the whole town, and our people betook themselves to the Fort. As for the other inhabitants, the Fort not being big enough to receive the hundredth part of them, they were obliged to shift for themselves the best way they could; so that what ships were at the town were soon filled, but still many thousands remained who had no earthly means to save themselves from a cruel enemy. What became of them, God knows; but this in general is certain, that many were killed, some escaped, the rest were stripped naked. The young women and handsome children fared worst, being mostly taken prisoners, and sent far from Calcutta, where they must be slaves to cruel masters for life. In short to say that they sacked the town in the cruellest manner, is saying all at once. Rape and murder was their diversion.

Having gained the town and out-batteries on the 17th, they invested the Fort on the next day. Our people kept a smart fire, and killed numbers of them. But they still continued their approaches from house to house; and on the morning of the 19th they were got into some large houses that overlooked the Fort. At ten in the morning the Governor and most of his Council, with two of the chief military officers and several more leading men, left the Fort and went on board the ships, which immediately weighed their anchors, and fell down with the tide out of the reach of the enemy's guns. At the same time all the small craft of sloops and boats followed the example and went away, leaving about two hundred men in the Fort, the rest being killed, or run away. On the land they were surrounded by a powerful enemy, on the water there was not the smallest boat left to carry them off.

In a few hours after the Governor went off it was known to the

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whole garrison and then a shocking scene began. The Fort was full of women and children; the soldiers mutinied, broke open the gates towards the water-side, and went away to the number of fifty, before the gentlemen could stop them. All was rage, despair and confusion. The gentlemen chose a new Governor, and resolved to die sword in hand. Thus stood matters the 19th at night. The 20th about noon, our ships being still in sight, our people resolved to hang out a flag of truce, which they did. When that appeared on the wall whether or not the Moors mistook it for their own colours, I cannot say, but in a trice they set up a great cry, and entered the Fort on all sides; some scaled the walls and some broke the gates. Then it was too late to think of any further defence, as the inequality was more than a hundred to one; so they delivered up their arms to the number of a hundred and fifty or more; most of them being young gentlemen in the Company's service, and the rest sea-faring men who had entered voluntarily: in short the flower of the Settlement was there. At first nothing more was done than the disarming of them, and, by the Nabob's orders, the women and children were sent out of the Fort to the town, where it is easy to guess what reception they met with, their houses plundered, themselves naked, and at the mercy of a savage enemy. At night the last scene of this shocking tragedy was acted. The prisoners were ordered to be confined in a place called the Black Hole, where we used to confine felons; it is about the bigness of an ordinary dining-room. In it they put about an hundred and forty men, one over another, where they were so crowded, that whoever was weak and once fell never rose again. Next morning only thirty came out alive and got their liberty: the rest being stifled to the number of an hundred and fifteen. The few that escaped in ships went down the river to a place called Phulta, where we continued till the latter end of December.

The wretched state of all the inhabitants in general is not to be expressed. Women and children coming to live in ships in want of the conveniences and even necessaries of life is too shocking to be described. *Above two thirds of the men died of fluxes and fevers: the European ladies held out the best of all; for few or none of them died, which was surprising as they scarce had cloaths to wear.* So much for Calcutta.

I was out on a voyage, and arrived forty-eight hours after the place was lost; just time enough to help save the miserable remains.

And now to come to a more agreeable part of the story, Admiral Watson arrived with forces on the 10th of December from Madrass;

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and in the latter end of that month we proceeded up the river, and on the 2nd of January retook Calcutta with little loss, after a warm dispute of a few hours. Soon after that a detachment was sent to a Moors' town called Hughly which they destroyed entirely. And at this time we are destroying with fire and sword all that part of the country which will not own us. The Nabob is expected to come down; but at present no person can tell where he is, or what he is doing.

I have had a fever which continued for two months, and obliged me to leave the ship in which I sailed six years. At present there is but very little appearance of trade flourishing here for many years. Many of our ships are lost, the merchants all ruined; and such a face of calamity hangs over the whole country, that, believe me, it is hard to get a bare livelihood. I am now a volunteer under the famous Colonel Clive, as are all the young men in the place who are not in the Company's service or otherwise employed: so now I intend to try my fortune on land till better times. My old messmate Mr. James Kinloch went on a voyage to the Straits of Malacca, where the ship was taken by natives, and he and all the ship's company were killed except the Captain who was ashore at that time, by which means he saved his life.

My good Captain Rannie (to whose care still direct my letters) has lost about nineteen thousand pounds at Calcutta. Mr. Raitt is well, but he has lost a great deal of money, and as for myself I have told you my all is gone. I believe that as soon as our forces are all collected, we shall march towards Moxoudabat which is the Nabob's capital. If it please God that I return safe I shall write to all my friends. In the meantime believe me to be, with the greatest sincerity, dear brother,

Your affectionate brother,

G. W. (? GEORGE WILLIAMSON).

P.S.—This goes by the packet which carries advice of the retaking of Calcutta.

38. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Tuesday, 2 August, to Thursday, 4 August,* 1757. (*No.* 93.)

East Indies. Extract of a letter from on board His Majesty's ship 'Kent,' *dated at Calcutta, 1 February,* 1757.[1]

We arrived in the Ganges on the 12th ultimo at Fulta, the unhappy rendezvous of our poor countrymen, who were excluded their Settle-

[1] Also in the *Public Advertiser*, August 3, 1757.

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ments. We remained there putting our land and sea forces to rights, till the 28th at night, when we sailed to Bugi Fort, it being the strongest the Moors had on the river; the 29th at night we landed at Maypow, about four miles from that fortress, and marched till eight next morning, without halting except what our two field pieces occasioned, which were drawn by *lascars*, though almost often out of sight in mud and water. The 30th in the morning we found ourselves about two miles above the Fort, and the same distance from the river; about eight, the *Kent*, *Tiger* and *Salisbury* came to and began a most furious cannonade. The reason of this forced and hazardous march was to cut off the garrison's retreat, and prevent a reinforcement from Calcutta, who were then on their march. About ten when we were amusing ourselves with the fire from the ships we were alarmed; and about ten minutes after a body of 3,000 horse were within pistol-shot of us: our people stood the shock, and our two field-pieces flanked them with grape and round, which obliged them to retreat, though they rallied several times with great resolution; the engagement lasted an hour and was just over when 1,000 of our brave Coast *seapoys* joined us, who were posted on the river-side with part of Adlercron's regiment. They left near 500 men on the field, with horses, camels and one elephant. We lost but one officer, Ensign Kerr, a relation of Lord Ancram's; our loss of men was inconsiderable. At three in the afternoon we marched down to the river-side, which covered us from the Fort, the ships keeping a constant fire; before night made several breaches, while our whole body disposed themselves and made it so hot for the besieged that their fire did little execution. At ten we stormed and took it, when our friend Captain Dugald Campbell going on the bastion to forbid the sailors and *seapoys* firing from without, as they were killing our men, was shot dead on the spot, being wounded in five places, and died universally esteemed and regretted. We demolished part of the works on the 31st, spiked up the guns &c., and sailed for Tannas Forts about two miles below Calcutta the 1st of January; but they abandoned them on our approach. The *Salisbury* was left a guard-ship here; and the 2nd was marched overland, while the Admiral and *Tyger* came before Calcutta, which held out half an hour and killed the *Tyger* seven or eight men. They had no notion of our being able to take it, as they had built an elegant *mosque*, and left the Company's warehouses almost full of goods; we are clearing away and fortifying the place with all expedition; we have got a fortified camp four miles distance, where we expect an engagement soon, as a

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body of Moors &c. are about twenty miles distant. We have taken since we came here the great city Hughly, forty miles up the river, and reduced most of it to rubbish. When Calcutta was taken in June last by the Moors, Lieutenant Scott, the Colonel's nephew, Buchanan of Craigovern, Lieutenant Simpson, and a son of Sir James Johnstone's of Westerhall, were killed.

39. *The 'London Chronicle.' From Saturday, 6 August, to Tuesday, 9 August, 1757. (No. 95.)*

Extract of a letter from Calcutta, dated 30 January, 1757.

We sailed from Madrass in the ship *Protector* of forty guns, Captain England, belonging to the Company, fifteen days after the fleet, and arrived at Ballisore five days before them. Proceeding to Fulta we there found the Governor and the remaining part of the Council, and inhabitants of Calcutta, being about one-fourth of the whole, the rest were either killed in the siege, or stifled in the Black Hole, or had died at Fulta. We waited here some time for pilots, and then sailed up to Boudgi, a very strong mud fortification, which was cannonaded all day, and stormed and taken in the evening. Here the Admiral ordered the *Protector* to stay with all our merchant ships that were at Fulta. I then quitted the *Protector* and went on board the Admiral. From Fulta we went to another fort called Fannas,[1] which we left after having discharged and spiked their cannon, and advanced to another fort a little above Calcutta, called Sumners Gardens, where were three ships which we took in the night with only four boats (Mr. Williamson and I being of the party) without any resistance, as also the Fort, which we burnt together with the three ships. We appeared before Calcutta next morning, and after a warm fire for about two hours and a half, saw the English colours once more flying on its walls. The Europeans in the Nabob's service made the round and partridge shot fly very thick about us. We lay within pistol shot of the Fort, and made prodigious havock with our small arms. My little musket was fired so often that I broke the lock; the barrel must certainly be a good one, since I fired fifty cartridges with two balls each in the space of an hour and a half.

The Admiral delivered up the Settlement to the Governor, and afterwards sent up the twenty-gun ship, sloop, &c., who I hear have destroyed Hughly, a Moor town, of the greatest consequence to them, it being the granary for their army; the provisions found in it were all destroyed,

[1] Tanna Fort.

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and to the value of 150,000 rupees' worth of plunder taken; but this is trifling to what is expected to be found at Muxadabaud, the capital, whither the army will very soon proceed.

Calcutta has been a fine town; but the shot and bad usage of the Moors, while they were in possession of it, which was about six months, has much damaged it. They destroyed all the fine furniture, and set fire to several dwelling-houses, which are now repairing. And in about half a year's time I imagine it will be once more in a flourishing state. The houses are all large and grand, with fine balconies all round them (to keep out the sun) which make a noble appearance.

The people are all agreeable, vastly free and very obliging to everybody; once introduced you are always known to them, and you dine and sup where you please, after the first visit, without any ceremony. Provisions are vastly cheap, and the best of all kinds of any Indian Settlement.

This comes by the *Syren* sloop, but I shall send another letter by the *Delawar* in about eight or nine days, as I shall also do by Captain Fowler, who sails from hence in twenty; by which time I daresay I shall be able to inform you of a complete victory over the Nabob, who is with 40,000 men within three days' march of our army, consisting as I learn from an officer, *viz.* :—

600 European soldiers in the battalion.
100 European volunteers in ditto.
100 sailors and artillery.
1,200 *seapoys* from the Coast.
200 *seapoys* raised at Ballisore.

2,200

with fourteen pieces of cannon which fire 7,000 partridge shot in a minute. Our little army is encamped about three miles from the town on a fine open plain, expecting 500 men from Bombay, upon whose arrival they will march to attack the enemy. This number, you will say, is but very small, especially as there are so many *seapoys*, but these are excellent soldiers when joined with Europeans to animate them. I will give you an instance of the bravery of these black soldiers when they have Europeans on their side. At Hughly 100 sailors were engaging 1,000 Moor horse; a party of about fifty-six *seapoys* hearing the report of the guns, marched that way, joined the sailors though they saw such a disproportion in numbers, and greatly contributed to the

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putting the Moors entirely to the rout. Returning to the Fort they met a body of Moor foot, whom they also attacked, and routed after an obstinate fight; and during the whole expedition they behaved themselves with the same intrepedity.

The courage of the Admiral's sailors is almost incredible. Three or four with their cutlasses, will attack fifty or more of the enemy, who are struck with such a pannic at the sight of them that they run from them whenever they see them coming, the sailors being determined neither to give nor to receive quarter. One single sailor made the Moors at Boudgi Boudgi desert a battery, which was the cause of their abandoning the Fort with so little resistance when it was stormed. This sailor had a very hoarse voice, and when he hallowed one would have thought there were several voices. The passage to this battery was very narrow, and so deep with mud and water, that the Moors, thinking the passage of it impracticable, had left it unguarded. This the sailor observing, immediately entered it, and, holding his pistols in his hands above his head, waded almost up to his chin to the foot of the battery, and getting up half-way without being seen by the Moors, he fired one of his pistols, crying out, *One and all, my boys! one and all, Huzza!* Mounting the bastion he fired his other pistol, and killed one man; then drawing his cutlass, huzzaed and charged three more, one of whom he cut down, one ran away and the other broke his cutlass in two by a blow aimed at his head with a scymetar, which Jack parried, and throwing his fist right in his face, just as he was recovering his weapon, knocked him down, took his scymetar, cut his throat, and so got possession of the battery; and by the noise he made, he was soon joined by some more sailors, who, turning the cannon upon the chief Fort that we were storming, soon dismounted the cannon that were firing at us, and made the enemy run.

40. *The 'London Chronicle.'* *From Saturday,* 13 *August, to Tuesday,* 16 *August,* 1757. (*No.* 98.)

It is reported that the East India Company have received advice overland, by way of Aleppo, that their affairs at Bengal have been adjusted with the Nabob; that mutual satisfaction is to be made for the damages sustained on each side; and that several hundred bales of goods have, since that time, been brought to the English Factory, from whence they reckon they shall be able to dispatch three ships this year for Europe.

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41. 'Lloyd's Evening Post,' 29 to 31 August, 1757.

Part of an account of the engagement, in which the 'Terrible' (*privateer*) *was captured by the French.*

The enemy having got possession of our ship, with the dead which lay upon the deck, threw overboard those also who had only lost a leg, so that none of the wounded were saved but such as had legs to stand upright or were but slightly wounded. We were then all removed on board the enemy's ship, and closely confined to the hold (which was almost full of casks) the remainder of that day and the succeeding night without a breath of air or a drop of water to drink. There was crying out and begging for air and water but without effect; some were crying out for others to urine in their shoes, but that disagreeable liquor was exhausted from their bodies. In the night there was such calamitous speeches and lamentations that the human heart cannot conceive, the lips utter, nor rhetoric describe. One Daddy Pullen, unable to bear misery any longer, had got his knife from his pocket with intent to cut his throat, but being unable to unclasp it gave it to another for that purpose, who immediately, being young and healthy, threw it behind the butts, and in the morning, when they were ordered upon deck, twenty-seven of them were found dead, being suffocated for want of air and liquor; many others were obliged to be carried upon the deck, incapable of speech for an hour or two, and seven or eight others died in the hospital at St. Maloe's; the survivors (those seven or eight included) to about the number of fifty-six, were sent some to St. Maloe's, and some to Morlaix.

42. 'Lloyd's Evening Post,' 19 to 21 September, 1757.

A letter from an officer at Calcutta, 30 March.

The Nabob having encamped with a very numerous army a little more than a mile from us, would in all probability have cut us off from all provision, as our black soldiers had all deserted at the Nabob's approach; but we very providentially attacked him the day before he intended to give us battle, when we entered his camp at six in the morning, in so thick a fog that we never discovered even their horses till within the push of our bayonets; immediately our people kept a continuous fire and made through his camp, which lasted for two full hours, in which time we killed and wounded above 1,300 of his men, near 600 horses, five elephants, several camels, etc.

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Two eunuchs were killed close by the Nabob's side, which so intimidated him that he lay prostrate on the ground. In short to sum up the matter, he sent us a letter that he desired to treat, and left his camp the next morning.

Our army consisted of 2,000, out of which we had about 200 killed and wounded.

43. *The 'London Chronicle,' 13 to 15 October, 1757.*

Extract of a letter from a person on board the 'Delawar' *East Indiaman, to his brother at Newcastle, dated at St. Helena, 20 July, 1757.*

When we arrived at Madrass, we immediately took in our cargo for London, and were daily in expectation of sailing for England when a packet arrived from Bengal, to acquaint the Governor that the Nabob had taken a place[1] belonging to the English. As soon as this news was received we were obliged to unload our ship again, and take in 320 soldiers to reinforce the garrison at Bengal. After we arrived in that river, we received the disagreeable news of its[2] being also taken by the Nabob. This advice made us almost afraid to enter any further; but after a little time we recovered our spirits, and unmoored, and brought to at a place called Culfew,[3] in which place were upward of 2,000 men belonging to the Nabob, but as soon as we appeared, they all fled further into the country. The poor natives of the place, after the enemy had fled, came on board and offered to supply us with anything that lay in their power, being afraid we should take all their effects from them. Here we sent a messenger to the enemy, to know if they would deliver us the places again, threatening to put all to death that were found therein belonging to the Nabob; to which we received for answer, we should not have the places without we obtained them by force. From this place we unmoored and sailed about twenty miles nearer the Grand Army of the Nabob, to a fort called Fulta, belonging to the Dutch. In a short time after we arrived here, the weather became so excessive hot, that we buried about thirty-five of our seamen, and out of the 320 soldiers we took from Madras near 300 of them likewise died: so that *the climate was more fatal in India than the enemy.* This put such a great daunt upon us that we were expecting every moment to be taken prisoners by the enemy, having hardly any that could do duty on board, except a few Dutch and some of the natives. At this place we lay near six months, when we were relieved by Admiral Watson,

[1] Cossimbazar. [2] Calcutta. [3] Culpee (Kalpi).

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with five sail of men-of-war and about two thousand soldiers. The Admiral was very much surprised to see us in such a distressed condition, and likewise how we kept the river so long without being taken by the enemy. He ordered us to lay by until he retook all our own places again, &c. &c.

44. *'Reed's Weekly Journal,' 29 October, 1757.*

Extract of a letter from an officer belonging to the 'Tyger' (which began the engagement at Chandernagore) to Mr. Christopher Thompson, of Harrington, near Whitehaven, 11 April.

DEAR BROTHER,—Since my last we have had two smart engagements. The first with the Nabob: who marched with 50,000 men down upon us, after he had surrendered up Calcutta. We had about 8,000 European soldiers in our camp, and above 500 of us seamen, sent to assist in managing the field pieces. My curiosity led me to go to see this engagement. The two camps were about four miles distant. So we set out from our camp on the 5th of February before three in the morning, and marched with our soldiers and cannon in order until about six, when, by the alarum bell, we found ourselves close to their entrenchments, it being very foggy, before they had any notice, which put them into the greatest disorder; for we played so hot with our platoons and cannon, that they left all, after making one very hot fire from all quarters, and got into the bounds of Calcutta, where they were sheltered from our guns, and had the opportunity of doing us a great deal of damage, had they been any ways skilful in making use of their great guns and fire arms. We were obliged to march past a fort of theirs within musket shot, which had eighteen thirty pounders in it, and we at the same time surrounded by 10,000 of their horse, and marched through them all. Their horsemen fight sword in hand, without firearms but very daring. I have been so near some that I could have knocked them down with a stone. I had a very good musket and bayonet fixed, and a good sword: I had several good shot among them.

[Lieutenant Lutwidge was shot close by me, of which wound he died at the King's Hospital at Calcutta. I was with him an afternoon two days before his death: he was very sensible of his time of dissolution drawing near: he called his man and told him to bring Mr. Thompson a bottle of wine; I drank a glass to his former health and all friends in Whitehaven; he pledged me in the potion the Doctor had prescribed

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for him, not the health, but to all friends in Whitehaven. He died a true penitent and much lamented as a brave officer. He was interred in the burying ground at Calcutta with the grand ceremony of minute guns and volleys of small arms, which few officers of his station are honoured with.][1]

The second engagement was with the French at Chandernagore, capital of this kingdom. We had four hours' cannonading, and then they sent off a flag of truce to us, and surrendered after three hours' capitulating. We had in this engagement 24 men killed and 44 wounded and 12 since dead of their wounds. I was wounded in my right arm, wrist, right breast, but worst in my left arm, between the elbow and shoulder; and there was a splinter that cut my hat from the head out to the brim; but no further damage. I was sent to the hospital twenty miles from the ship next day and am almost well. We had it very hot at Chandernagore: it was a very strong fortified place: and the French maintained it with vigour. The bastions we lay against, we dismounted every one of their guns, and made the walls a heap of rubbish. The *Kent* and our ship the *Tyger* only engaged this place. I desire my service to all friends.

I am, your affectionate brother, ROBERT THOMPSON.[2]

P.S.—We had of our forces killed in storming the Nabob's camp 170 men, and they lost upwards of 5,000; desperate work brother.

45. *The 'London Chronicle,' 21 to 23 February*, 1758.

Colonel Clive has remitted £180,000 to England by bills on the Dutch East India Company: and we hear that he is appointed Governor of Bengal.

46. *The 'London Chronicle,' 14 to 16 March*, 1758.

Extract from a letter from Colonel Clive, dated Calcutta, 21 August, 1757.

The whole sum, given by the new Prince, amounts to three millions sterling; one half of which is already received. . . . Mrs. Clive will sail from hence in six weeks; she takes her passage in the *Tyger*, Captain Latham; however I believe, I shall overtake her either at the Cape or St. Helena.

[1] From *Lloyd's Evening Post*, October 24 to 26, 1757.

[2] According to Surgeon Ives, he was one of the midshipmen on the *Tyger*.

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Extract from letter from Colonel Clive's secretary, dated Calcutta, 21 August, 1757.

The whole town is in mourning for the brave Admiral Watson, who died universally beloved and lamented.

47. *The 'Public Advertiser,' 1 April, 1758.*

This gentleman (Mr. J. Z. Holwell), now so cruelly traduced, was invested with this power[1] for the space of five years, reformed many frauds and abuses in it, increased the credit of the Company's rents and revenues near ten thousand pounds *per annum*, and this without laying any new tax on the people, or increasing any old one to the value of a farthing, and without a single complaint, in all that time, being laid against him to the Council Board of oppression or exactions from the tenants, and but one appeal from his decrees in the judicial part of his office, and that reversed *in part* only. That his unpopularity with the natives is impossible for 'when this gentleman defended our property to the last, and whilst there remained any hopes of a retreat with the immense effects deposited in our Fort, and in consequence of this defence fell into the hands of the Nabob, he surely could never have escaped had he been so universally obnoxious to the Indians; on the contrary, I have been informed from good authority that his known impartial administration of justice to the natives saved his head. That letters from leading Europeans in Bengal show he is not unpopular or unrespected by the English.'

48. *The 'Universal Magazine' for June, 1757.*

TO THE PROPRIETORS OF THE 'UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE.'

GENTLEMEN,—In your magazine (p. 123, vol. xviii.) you have given your readers a full description of the kingdom of Bengal, and the European Settlements established there, with a perspective view of Fort William; and (p. 49, vol. xix.) a map of that part of the East Indies, exhibiting the situation of the Settlements of the Europeans. But, as the Nabob of Bengal has lately destroyed the English Settlement at Calcutta, I presume the following account of the *Great Mogul* (to whom

[1] The office of *Zemindar* of Calcutta. This office was of the nature of a magistrate's, and was practically limited to supervision of the natives in the town, who were subjects of the native Prince, and at the same time under the control of the British.

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the several Nabobs are tributaries) together with an account of the taking Calcutta, will find a place in your useful magazine.

Yours, &c., K. K.

About the year 1203, the famous Gingis-Khan made that cruel irruption into the Indies, which put the Mogul Tartars in possession of that vast extent of country, which is bounded on the north and east by Great Tartary, and by the dominions of the King of Ava, on the south by the peninsula on this side the Ganges, and on the east by Persia and the ocean. It is this monarchy that is called Indostan, that is, the country of the Indies, or India proper. The reigning Prince in the middle of the seventeenth century was called Cha-Halam, and descended in a direct line from the famous Zingis, by Tamerlane.

The riches and power of these monarchs induced them to take the title of Grand Seignior, or Emperor-King. Those who fix the treasure of the Empire at the lowest valuation, make it to amount to three hundred or three hundred and fifty millions.

His power is so despotic, that he has the sovereign disposal of the lives and effects of his subjects; his will is their only law; it decides all controversies, without any persons daring to dispute it, on pain of death. At his command alone the greatest lords are executed; their fiefs, their lands, their posts and offices are changed or taken from them.

Few days pass without his appearing at sun-rising, and the lords of his Court are obliged to be then in his apartment, in order to pay him their homages. He shews himself also at noon, to see the fightings of wild beasts; and at evening he appears at a window, from whence he sees the sun set. With that luminary he retires, amidst the noise of a great number of drums and the acclamations of his people. None are permitted to enter the palace but the Princes and great officers of State; who shew so great veneration for him that it is impossible to approach the most sacred things with more profound respect. They accompany all their discourse with continual reverences; they prostrate themselves before him at taking leave; they put their hands on their eyes, then on their breast, and lastly on the earth, to testify they are only dust and ashes in respect to him. They wish him all manner of prosperity as they retire, and go backward till they are out of sight.

When he marches at the head of his army, or takes the diversion of hunting, he is attended by above ten thousand men. About one hundred elephants, covered with housings of scarlet velvet and brocade, march at the head of this little army: each carries two men, one of whom

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governs the animal, by touching his forehead with an iron hook, the other holding a large banner of silk embroidered with gold and silver; the first eight carry each a kettle-drum. In the middle of this troop the monarch rides, sometimes mounted on a fine Persian horse, sometimes in a chariot drawn by two white oxen, whose large spreading horns are adorned with gold, and sometimes in a *palanquin* supported by men. The Princes and great officers compose his retinue, and have five or six hundred elephants, camels or chariots following them, loaded with baggage.

The royal palace at Dehlie is said to be four leagues in circumference, and fortified on every side. After passing several courts and streets, separated by different gates, we at last arrive at the apartments of the *Mogul*, which are in the center of the building. In the first salloon is a balustrade of silver, where the officers of the guard are posted; nor are any except the great lords of the Court permitted to enter farther, without orders. This leads into the chamber of ceremony, where there is another balustrade of gold, inclosing the throne of massy gold, and profusely enriched with diamonds, pearls and other precious stones. None but the King's sons are permitted to enter this balustrade, or to fan themselves, in order to cool the air and drive away the flies.

The Empire of the *Great Mogul* is divided into forty provinces, all which, except two, have titles of kingdoms, and their names generally derived from that of the capital.

But, among this great number of provinces, some do not depend entirely on the *Great Mogul*, but whose inhabitants form small separate States, living under Princes whom they call Rajas or Nabobs, or under a sort of republican government. But all are vassals or tributaries to the *Great Mogul* though they do not always think themselves under an obligation of consulting him every time they make war against a neighbouring State, or any European Settlement that may happen to be in their Province. Of this the following terrible catastrophe at Calcutta is a melancholy instance.

The latter end of May, 1756 the late Nabob died, and the present Nabob was established; who immediately invested Cossimbuzar, without any other pretence (as he said) than that he had received many insults from Governor Drake. Finding our gentlemen determined not to give up the Factory without making an opposition, he proposed a truce, and inveigled Mr. Watts, our Chief, to his tent, under pretence of accommodating matters. When he got him to his tent, he made him sign a paper, acknowledging himself indebted to the Nabob in a large

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sum of money: and then ordered him to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson, two of the Council. As soon as they came to the Nabob's tent, he secured Mr. Batson, and sent Mr. Collet back to prevail on our people to surrender the Factory, with the guns, ammunition, &c., at discretion, keeping Mr. Watts as hostage for the performance of it.

On the 4th of June the Factory of Cossimbuzar was surrendered, notwithstanding it was warmly opposed by many of the gentlemen.

As soon as he had performed this exploit, he immediately marched with all his forces, consisting of 70,000 horse and foot, to Calcutta, threatening to drive all the English out of the country. On the 15th he began the siege by attacking one of the redoubts at the entrance of the town, but was repulsed with a great slaughter of his men. The next day he made an attack on our advanced posts at the Goal and Court House, which kept a constant fire on his troops, by which many of them were killed.

Notwithstanding this opposition another attack was made on the 18th, when those posts were abandoned by our troops, which gave the Nabob's forces an entrance into the town, which obliged us to retreat to the Fort.

A Council of War being called to consider of the state of affairs, the Captain of the Train acquainted the Council that there was not ammunition in the Fort for three days; on which the women were sent on board the shipping lying before the Fort. The Governor and some of the principal officers likewise got on board the ships and went away, leaving the people in the Fort without a possibility of securing a retreat.

The whole number left in the Fort being 250 effective men, we held out till the 20th in the evening when, the ammunition being near spent, a flag of truce was hung out. During the parley from the walls the back gate was betrayed by the Dutch guard, and we were obliged to surrender at discretion. The same night 170 of us were crammed into a hole not large enough for 50 of us to breathe in; the effect of it was that only sixteen were alive the next morning. Four of us were sent to the Nabob's camp and put in irons; but what became of the other twelve, that escaped hell in miniature, I have not been able to learn.

The Company is reported to have lost by this affair two *crow* of rupees. Each crow contains a hundred *lack*, and each *lack* a hundred thousand, that is twenty millions of rupees, which make £2,250,000 sterling.

This amazing catastrophe is the more surprising, as the English had always lived in a very good understanding with the old Nabob, who, on many occasions, had shewn them much respect and favour. It is cer-

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tain, that, for some time past, the Country Government in India have had a secret jealousy of the Europeans, and were therefore willing to lay hold of an opportunity to convince them they were not proprietors of the places in which they were settled, but held them by permission, and according to the good pleasure of the *Great Mogul.*

It is true that the old Nabob and the young one shew no great deference or respect to the Court of Dehlie; but, notwithstanding this, they would have foreigners believe, that they are upon good terms with, and derive their authority from the *Mogul.* It is said that monarch has sent his eldest son, with one of his principal generals, and a great army to attend him, in order to dispossess the young Nabob and to place the young Prince in the government of Bengal, and two other great provinces; the news of which obliged him to leave Calcutta, as soon as he had taken it.

It is said that the Nabob had 7,000 people killed between the 17th and 20th of June; and, as he was obliged to withdraw so precipitately, it is very probable that his people had not time to destroy the Fort, as he directed; so that our next advices will, in all likelihood, acquaint us that Admiral Watson has reinstated the Company in the possession of her Settlement, in which there is no reason to doubt it will be supported by the *Mogul.*

A list of the persons killed in the defence of Calcutta and Fort William, when attacked by the Moors, in June 1756; also those who died in the Black Hole overheated, and for want of water. (For this see *London Chronicle*, 7-9 June, p. 70.)

B.—SCOTCH MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS.

49. '*Scots Magazine*,' *Vol. XIX., May*, 1757.[1]

By the British East India Company's ships *Portfield*, *Edgcot*, and *Chesterfield*, arrived from the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel at Limerick in Ireland about the end of May, there is advice of the taking of the Company's forts and settlements in Bengal. One letter relates the affair thus:—

[1] I cannot ascertain exactly when the May number of the *Scots Magazine* was published, but it was evidently some time after the conclusion of the month, as it refers to the arrival of the Company's ships in Ireland at the end of May. Generally speaking, it would appear that the Scotch magazines and papers took their information regarding Bengal affairs from the English papers of the previous week; however, it has seemed better to quote them in full.

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The latter end of May 1756, our late Nabob (Alli Verdee Caun) died, and the present Nabob (Sourajee Doulah, his grandson) was established; who immediately invested Cossimbuzar, without any other pretence (as he said) than that he had received many insults from Governor Drake. Finding our gentlemen determined not to give up the Factory without making an opposition, he proposed a truce, and inveigled Mr. Watts, our Chief, to his tent, under pretence of accommodating matters. When he got him to his tent, he made him sign a paper, acknowledging himself indebted to the Nabob in a large sum of money; and then ordered him to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson, two of the Council. As soon as they came to the Nabob's tent, he secured Mr. Batson, and sent Mr. Collet back to prevail on our people to surrender the Factory, with the guns, ammunition, etc., at discretion, keeping Mr. Watts as hostage for the performance of it. On the 4th of June the Factory of Cossimbuzar was surrendered, notwithstanding it was warmly opposed by many of the gentlemen. As soon as he had performed this exploit, he immediately marched with all his forces, consisting of 70,000 horse and foot, to Calcutta, threatening to drive all the English out of the country. On the 15th he began the siege, by attacking one of the redoubts at the entrance of the town; but was repulsed with a great slaughter of his men. The next day he made an attack on our advanced posts at the Gaol and Court-house; which kept a constant fire on his troops, by which many of them were killed. Notwithstanding this opposition another attack was made on the 18th; when those posts were abandoned by our troops; which gave the Nabob's forces an entrance into the town; which obliged us to retreat to the Fort. A Council of War being called to consider of the state of affairs, the Captain of the Train acquainted the Council that there was not ammunition in the Fort for three days; on which the women were sent on board the shipping lying before the Fort. The Governor and some of the principal officers likewise got on board the ships, and went away leaving the people in the Fort without a possibility of securing a retreat. The whole number left in the Fort being 250 effective men, we held out till the 20th in the evening when the ammunition being near spent, a flag of truce was hung out. During the parley from the walls the back gate was betrayed by the Dutch guard, and we were obliged to surrender at discretion. The same night 170 of us were crammed into a hole not large enough for 50 of us to breathe in; the effect of it was, that only 16 were alive next morning. Four of us were sent to the Nabob's camp, and put into

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irons; but what became of the other 12 that escaped hell in miniature, I have not been able to learn.

In another letter from the East Indies, dated December 15, 1756, we have the substance of a letter received by the Governor and Council there in October, as follows:—

It seems the Governor and Council at Bengal protected an old Nabob deposed, (a principal officer, or Prime Minister, according to some letters), from the resentment of the young one, his successor. The latter sent to demand him; but the English refused to deliver him up. Upon which he raised an army of 30,000 horse, and the same number of foot, with 300 or 400 elephants of war. The English sent out spies to discover their number, which they never knew exactly till they were just upon them. They summoned the Fort to deliver up the old Nabob, promising upon that condition to withdraw their troops immediately; but this was again refused. The enemy then threw up a small breastwork opposite to the Fort, and mounted two twelve-pounders upon it. They fired two or three times in an hour; but if they had fired till Doomsday, they could never have made a breach. However, long before any real attack was made, the [Governor] run away aboard a ship in the morning; the Counsellors and their wives in the afternoon; leaving Mr. Holwell behind, who said he would stay, and defend the place to the last extremity. Being thus left with only a few gentlemen and some military officers, he called a Council of War. The soldiers grumbling at not being permitted to escape, he divided three chests of the treasure among them, and secured the keys of the gates himself; and stood to the defence of the place gallantly. The *Moguls* kept firing their two twelve-pounders to no purpose; for all the mischief proceeded from the Counsellors' houses being built close round the Fort. In these houses the enemy lodged themselves, and galled the English greatly. During all this time the Fort fired constantly, and dislodged them several times; but the third day (I think it was the third) most of our men being killed, and all the rest wounded, (with only two hours' ammunition left), Mr. Holwell thought to have made an honourable retreat, by hanging out a flag of truce to amuse the enemy. But the ships in the river had dropt down several miles from the Fort, and did not leave even a boat for the others to escape in. The soldiers that night knocked off the lock of the little gate, Mr. Holwell having the keys, and let in the *Moguls;* who immediately loaded them with irons, and crammed them into a place, called the Black Hole, for that night.

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But out of the 175 that went in, only sixteen came out alive next morning; among whom were Mr. Holwell, and Mr. Burdett, a writer.

The next day they carried Mr. Burdett to accompany Mr. Holwell up the country, loaded with irons, and gave them only rice and water for their provision: they likewise obliged them to walk three days through the sun without any covering, and, when they arrived at their journey's end, put them into a cow-house, where they narrowly escaped another smothering. However, in three days they dismissed them. From thence they went to Muxadavat.

To this letter is subjoined what follows:

The 28th of October we sent three ships full of troops and ammunition, to reinstate the Company's servants in the Settlement of Bengal, as we hear it will be delivered up to us shortly. The Company is reported to have lost by this affair two *crow* of rupees. Each *crow* contains 100 *lack*, and each *lack* 100,000 rupees; that is, in all, twenty millions of rupees; which make £2,250,000 sterling.

The same day (October 28) our ambassadors arrived from Pooner, where they had been three weeks treating with the Moratta Prince, to whom we have delivered Geriah, and they in return have given us several villages at Sevenrooke.

By the East India Company's, as well as many private letters, it is advised, that the measures taken by the Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay, in conjunction with Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive who command the naval and land forces, there is the greatest reason to hope that the Company would not only be very soon re-established in Bengal, but that ample satisfaction will be obtained of the Nabob for what the Company have suffered by him.

There are also many letters that mention the Mogul's having marched a large army into those provinces, which was said to be actually arrived near Muxadavat, in order to subdue the Nabob Sourajee Doulah, and fix another Nabob in those provinces.

A list of those killed in the defence of Calcutta and Fort William, and of those who died in the Black Hole, overheated and for want of water.

Killed: William Baillie, Esq., Captain P. Smith, Lieutenants Picard and Bishop, Ensign Blagg, Messrs. Carse, Smith, Wilkinson, and Throseby, gentlemen in the Company's service; Messrs. Purnell, Stephenson, Parker, Cary, Macpherson, Guy, Whitby and Fidecomb, seafaring men.

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Shot themselves: Thomas Bellamy, before the attack of Calcutta; and Lieutenant Elliot, after the surrender of Cossimbuzar factory.

Died in the Black Hole, of whom some were wounded before they were put in: Edward Eyre, Esq., Thomas Coles (shot in the breast); the Rev. Mr. Bellamy; Captains Clayton, Buchanan, Witherington, and Simson; Lieutenants Bellamy and Hayes; Ensigns Scot and Wedderburn; Messrs. Jenks, Reveley, Law, Valicourt, Jebb, Dalrymple, Stephen and Edward Page, Street, Grub, Harrod, N. Drake, Dodd, Janiano, Johnston, junior, Byng, Orr and Gosling, gentlemen in the Company's service; Messrs. Hunt, Jennings, Dumbleton (wounded), Porter, Coker, Bendal, Meadows, Reid, Osborne (wounded), Barnet, Frere, Wilson, Burton, Leach, Tilley, Cartwright, Lyon, Alsop, and Hillier, seafaring men.

Drowned in escaping: Captain Collings, a sea-captain.

Wounded and died after he was let out of the Black Hole: Lieutenant Talbot.

Escaped the Black Hole, but ordered to leave Calcutta: Pahra John Knox, George Gray, junior, Captain Mills, Mr. Kerwood, and a few seafaring men.

Sent from the Black Hole to Muxadavat: John Zephinio Holwell, Esq.; Mr. Richard Court, senior, merchant; Mr. Bourdett, writer; and Ensign Walcott. The last is since dead.

Made prisoners at Cossimbuzar: William Watts, Esq., Chief; Messrs. Collet, Batson, and Hastings, of the Council; Messrs. Watts, junior, Sykes, Marriot and Chambers, writers; and about 50 military. Messrs. Watts and Collet were afterwards set at liberty, and Mrs. Watts with her three children were permitted to live in the French Factory at Cossimbuzar.

Made prisoners at Dacco: Richard Becher, Esq., Chief; Messrs. Scrafton, Hyndman, Waller, and Cartier, of the Council; Mr. Wilson, surgeon; Mr. Johnston, senior, writer; Mrs. Becher and her child; Mrs. Warwick; Miss Harding; Ensign Cudmore, and about 25 military. All these were set at liberty by the intercession of the French, and permitted to live in their Factory at Dacco.

A list[1] *of those who escaped to the ships at Fulta, and were there in July, 1756, or are since dead:* Governor Drake; Charles Manningham, William Frankland, William Macket and Paul Richard Pearkes, Esqs., of the Council; Captains George Minchin and Alexander Grant; Ensign

[1] A similar list is given in the *Caledonian Mercury* of June 14, with slightly differen headings and arrangement.

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Carstairs, (wounded); Rev. Mr. Mupletoft [or Mapletoft] Lieutenant of militia. Mr. Pearkes was taken prisoner, but made his escape.

Gentlemen in the Company's service: Messrs. Sumner, Cooke, secretary,[1] Billers, O'Hara, Rider, Ellis, Lindsay, Tooke, senior,[2] Lushington, Charlton, Vasmer, Leister. Messrs. Cooke and Lushington were in the Black Hole. Mr. Lindsay is since dead.

Free merchants, captains of ships, mates, and others: Messrs. Beaumont, Margas, Cruttenden, Carvalho, Douglas, Baldrick, Wood, Nixon, Holmes, Putham, Le Beaume; Captains Rannie, David Graham, Wedderburn (or Wedderburne), Walmsley, Austin, Laing, Widderington, Saunders, Baillie, Campbell, Lewis, Lord, Best, Baldwin, Young, Costelly, Whatmore, Cozens, Nicholson; Drs. Fullerton, G. Gray, Taylor, Knox;[3] Mr. Child, schoolmaster; Atkinson and Ridge, attorneys; Pyfinch, writer; Blany, glass grinder; Burton, butcher; Coverly, gaoler; Macpherson, cooper; Cockylane, a French seafaring gentleman; Champion, Summers, and Smith, mates of ships; Ling, musician; Cole, carpenter; Dracco (or Dacco, *London Magazine*) Conlas; three Portuguese priests; M. Albert, a French gentlemen. Of these Mr. Margas, Captains D. Graham, Laing, Best, Baldwin, and Nicholson, are since dead; and Drs. Fullerton, G. Gray, Taylor and Knox were taken prisoners, but made their escape.

Of the Factory at Balsore: Mr. Thomas Boddom, Chief, Mr. English, Captain Keene, and about 25 military. They quitted their Factory after the capture of Calcutta, by order of the Governor and Council. Captain Keene is since dead.

Of the Factory at Jugdea: Mr. Peter Amyat, Chief; Messrs. Playdel, Verelst, Smyth, Hay, and Ensign Mure, with about 20 military. They also quitted their Factory after the capture of Calcutta, by order of the Governor and Council.

Women and children on board the ships and vessels at Fulta, June, 1756 (Caledonian Mercury): Lady Russel, Mrs. Drake and two children; Cruttenden, three children; Mackett, two; Mapletoft, two; Gray, one; M'Gwire, three; Cooke, one; Buchanan, one; Dumbleton, two; Coales, one; Rannie, two; Wedderburne, one; Tournac, one; Knox,

[1] Cooke, secretary, was taken prisoner, and put into the Black Hole; afterwards made his escape (*Caledonian Mercury* and *London Magazine*).

[2] Probably William Ascanius Senior; in fact, written 'Senior' in the *Caledonian Mercury*.

[3] 'Doctors Fullerton, G. Gray, Taylor, and Knox, junior, were taken prisoners, but made their escape' (*London Magazine*).

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two; Robertson, four; Packer, one; Aston, three; Amyat, Sumner, Riccards, Duncan, Major Holland's widow; Ross, Jacobs, Griffith, Searle, Beard, Margas, Putham, Clayton, Parker, Rainbow, Edwards, French, Renbault, Chapman, Finley, Gooding, Bellamy, Barclay, Cockylane, Gould, Hunt, Holland, Young, Woolley, Smith, Child, Porter, Lord, Bowers; Misses Bellamy, Jobbins, Bagley, Carey, Seale, and the two Miss Cavalhos. Of these Mrs. Cruttenden, Gooding, and Bellamy, are since dead, and Miss Bellamy is since married.

50. *The 'Caledonian Mercury,' 9 June*, 1757.
From the London Papers.

Paris, May 27.—We have received advice from the East Indies, by way of Constantinople, that the Nabob of Bengal has destroyed all the possessions of the English upon the Ganges, to the amount of above 50,000,000 livres, and that this Prince afterwards went upon the Coast of Coromandel, where he has declared that he will do his utmost to destroy all that belongs to the English.

51. *'Edinburgh Evening Courant,' Thursday, 9 June*, 1757.
From the London Papers, 31 May.

Paris, May 27.—We have received advice from the East Indies, by the way of Constantinople, importing that the Nabob of Bengal has destroyed everything that the English possessed in the Ganges: after which this Prince marched to the Coast of Coromandel and swore that he would endeavour likewise to destroy there everything belonging to the same nation.—A Brussels Gazette prophecy!

52. *The Caledonian Mercury, 11 June*, 1757.

London.—By the East India Company's ships . . . put the French in possession of our Factory.

53. In the *Scots Magazine of June*, 1757, a translation of M. Durand's letter is given in full; in that for *July* Admiral Watson's despatch of the 31st January, in that for *October* the defeat of the Nabob and the capture of Chandernagore.

54. *The 'Edinburgh Evening Courant,' Saturday, 11 June*, 1757.
From the London Papers, 7 June.

By the East India Company's ships *Portfield*, *Edgcot* and *Chesterfield*, arrived at Limeric from the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, there

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are certain advices that on the death of Alli Verdee Caun, the late Nabob of the Province of Bengal, his grandson and successor, Sourajee Doulah, having made most exorbitant demands on the Company for money, which not being immediately complied with, marched down in the month of June to Calcutta, with an army of 60,000 men, and hath made himself master thereof, together with all the Settlements of the Company, in the Province of Bengal, exercising most inhuman cruelties. The French and Dutch having seen the fate of the English have made their peace with the Nabob at the expence of large sums of money. The Presidencies of Fort Saint George and Bombay, finding themselves in a condition to send some immediate assistance to Bengal, have each detached a great number of men in conjunction with His Majesty's squadron under Admiral Watson to re-establish the Settlement of Fort William, in which they have great hopes of succeeding.

The gentlemen and officers of our Factory at Calcutta that were killed and escaped, according to a list handed about, are numerous. The number of private men is not yet computed, but we hear 175 of our people who fled to the river Ganges were taken and put into a dungeon, from whence only 17 came out alive. 'Tis said the Indians have since put the French in possession of our Factories.

We hear that the brave Captain David Clayton (second in command at Calcutta, the Commandant having repaired on board the Company's ships in the Ganges) defended the place with the utmost gallantry and was one of the 60 officers put into the Black Hole where they perished miserably.

* * * * *

The *Protector*, Captain James, has taken and carried into Tellicherry the *Indian* (Captain Bussau) from Pondichery of 24 guns and 200 men, valued at near £40,000.

55. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*,[1] *14th June*, 1757.
From the London Papers, 9 *June*.

An extract from a letter received by the India ships arrived in Ireland, containing a particular account of the unfortunate affair at Bengal.

The latter end of May 1756, our late Nabob died, and the present Nabob was established; who immediately invested Cossimbuzar, without any other pretence (as he said) than that he had received many

[1] Also in the *Caledonian Mercury* of June 14, 1757, headed 'From the London papers, June 9, London.' This and the following letter are in the *London Magazine* for June, 1757.

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insults from Governor Drake. Finding our gentlemen determined not to give up the Factory without making an opposition, he proposed a truce and inveigled Mr. Watts, our Chief, to his tent, under pretence of accommodating matters. When he got him to his tent he made him sign a paper, acknowledging himself indebted to the Nabob in a large sum of money; and then ordered him to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson, two of the Council. As soon as they came to the Nabob's tent he secured Mr. Batson, and sent Mr. Collet back to prevail on our people to surrender the Factory, with the guns, ammunition, &c., at discretion, keeping Mr. Watts as hostage for the performance of it.

On the 4th of June the Factory of Cossimbuzar was surrendered notwithstanding it was warmly opposed by many of the gentlemen.

As soon as he had performed this exploit, he immediately marched with all his forces, consisting of 70,000 horse and foot, to Calcutta, threatening to drive all the English out of the country. On the 15th he began the siege by attacking one of the redoubts at the entrance of the town, but was repulsed with a great slaughter of his men. The next day he made an attack on our advanced posts at the Gaol and Court House, which kept a constant fire on his troops, by which many of them were killed.

Notwithstanding this opposition, another attack was made on the 18th, when those posts were abandoned by our troops, which gave the Nabob's forces an entrance into the town, which obliged us to retreat to the Fort.

A Council of War being called to consider of the state of affairs, the Captain of the Train acquainted the Council that there was not ammunition in the Fort for three days; on which the women were sent on board the shipping lying before the Fort. The Governor and some of the principal officers likewise got on board the ships, and went away, leaving the people in the Fort without a possibility of securing a retreat.

The whole number left in the Fort being 250 effective men, we held out till the 20th in the evening, when the ammunition being near spent, a flag of truce was hung out. During the parley from the walls, the back gate was betrayed by the Dutch guard, and we were obliged to surrender at discretion. The same night 170 of us were crammed into a hole not large enough for 50 of us to breathe in; the effect of it was, that only 16 were alive the next morning. Four of us were sent to the Nabob's camp, and put into irons; but what became of the other twelve that escaped hell in miniature, I have not been able to learn.

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Extract of another letter from the East Indies, dated 15 *December*, 1756.

In the month of September we heard that our Settlement in Bengal was taken, and in the beginning of October we had a confirmation of it.

The destruction of that place will be a great loss to the Company. As I have seen the letter which was sent to the Governor and Council here, I shall give you the substance of the affair.

It seems the Governor and Council at Bengal protected an old Nabob, deposed, from the resentment of the young one, his successor. The latter sent to demand him, but the English refused to deliver him up: upon which he raised an army of 30,000 horse, and the same number of foot, with 300 or 400 elephants of war. The English sent out spies to discover their number, which they never knew exactly, 'till they were just upon them. They summoned the Fort to deliver up the old Nabob, promising upon that condition to withdraw their troops immediately; but this was again refused. The enemy then threw up a small breast-work opposite to the Fort, and mounted two 12 pounders upon it. They fired two or three times in an hour; but if they had fired 'till Doomsday, they could never have made a breach. However, long before any real attack had been made, the [Governor] run away aboard a ship in the morning; the Counsellors and their wives in the afternoon, leaving Mr. Holwell behind, who said he would stay and defend the place to the last extremity. Being thus left with only a few gentlemen and some military officers, he called a Council of War. The soldiers grumbling at not being permitted to escape, he divided three chests of the treasure among them, and secured the keys of the gates himself; and the next morning stood to the defence of the place gallantly. The Moguls kept firing their two twelve pounders, to no purpose, for all the mischief proceeded from the Counsellors' houses being built close round the Fort. In these houses the enemy lodged themselves, and galled the English greatly. During all this time the Fort fired constantly and dislodged them several times; but the third day (I think it was the third) most of our men being killed, and all the rest wounded (with only two hours' ammunition left) Mr. Holwell thought to have made an honourable retreat, by hanging out a flag of truce to amuse the enemy; but the ships in the river had dropt down several miles from the Fort, and did not leave even a boat for the others to escape in. The soldiers that night knocked off the lock of the little gate (Mr. Holwell having the keys) and let in the *Moguls* who immediately loaded them with irons and crammed them into a place, called the Black Hole, for that night:

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but out of the 175 that went in, only 16 came out alive next morning, among whom were Mr. Holwell and Mr. Burdett, a writer: this is the only writer mentioned, that escaped smothering. Mr. Lushington, a writer, got on board the ships after the Fort was taken; likewise Mr. Charlton: these are the only writers, out of eight, that were saved: the other five were smothered in the Hole with the rest by the excessive heat.

The next day they carried Mr. Burdett to accompany Mr. Holwell up the country, loaded with irons, and gave them only rice and water for their provision; they likewise obliged them to walk three days through the sun without any covering, and, when they arrived at their journey's end, put them into a cow-house, where they narrowly escaped another smothering. However, in three days they dismissed them. From thence they went to Muxadavat.

The 28th of October we sent three ships full of troops and ammunition to reinstate the Company's servants in the Settlement of Bengal, as we hear it will be delivered up to us shortly. The Company is reported to have lost by this affair two *crow* of rupees. Each *crow* contains a hundred *lack*, and each *lack* a hundred thousand, that is twenty millions of rupees, which make £2,250,000 sterling.

The same day our Ambassadors arrived from Pooner, where they had been three weeks treating with the Moratta Prince, to whom we have delivered Gheria, and they in return have given us several villages at Sevenrooke.

By the East India Company's, as well as many private letters, it is advised, that the measures taken by the Presidencies of Fort George and Bombay, in conjunction with Admiral Watson who commands the naval and Colonel Clive the land forces, there is the greatest reason to hope that the Company would not only be very soon re-established in Bengal, but that ample satisfaction will be obtained of the Nabob for what the Company have suffered by him.

There are also many letters that mention the Moguls having marched a large army into those Provinces, which was said to be actually arrived near Muxadavad, in order to subdue the Nabob Sourajee Doulah and fix another Nabob in those Provinces.[1]

A letter from India mentions the *Great Mogul's* being highly incensed at the conduct of the Nabob, and he vows destruction to him and his race.

[1] This and the preceding three paragraphs are in the *Caledonian Mercury* of June 14.

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The Company's servants that are left alive are stripped of all their substance, and reduced to extreme poverty.

The amazing catastrophe of Fort William and the city of Calcutta in Bengal is so much the more surprising, as the English had always lived in a very good understanding with the old Nabob, who on many occasions had shewn them much respect and favour. It is certain that for some time past the Country Government in India have had a secret jealousy of the Europeans, and were therefore willing to lay hold of an opportunity to convince them that they were not proprietors of the places in which they were settled, but held them by permission, and according to the good pleasure of the *Great Mogul*.

It is true that the old Nabob and the young one shew no great deference or respect to the Court of Dehlie; but notwithstanding this they would have foreigners believe that they are upon good terms with, and derive their authority from the *Mogul*. It is said that monarch has sent his eldest son, with one of his principal generals and a great army to attend him, in order to dispossess the young Nabob, and to place the young Prince in the government of Bengal and two other great Provinces; the news of which obliged him to leave Calcutta as soon as he had taken it.

It is said that the Nabob had 7,000 people killed between the 17th and 20th of June; and as he was obliged to withdraw so precipitately, it is very probable that his people had not time to destroy the Fort, as he directed; so that our next advices will, in all likliehood, acquaint us, that Admiral Watson has reinstated the Company in her Settlement in which there is no reason to doubt she will be supported by the Mogul.

A list of the persons killed in the defence of Calcutta and Fort William when attacked by the Moors in June, 1756, also those who died in the Black Hole, overheated and for want of water.[1]

Edward Eyre, Esq., died in the Black Hole.
William Baillie, Esq.; with a shot in the head;
Thomas Bellamy shot himself before the attack;
Thomas Coales had a shot in the breast, and died in the Black Hole;

[1] Also in the *Caledonian Mercury* of June 14, 1757. The order is, however, different, and seems to have been taken from the list used in the *London Magazine* for June, 1757, though that list also contains the names of Europeans on board the vessels at Fulta.

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The Rev. Mr. Bellamy, Captain Clayton, Captain Buchanan, Captain Witherington and Captain Simson, died in the Black Hole;

Captain P. Smith killed by a shot on one of the bastions.

Lieutenants: Picard wounded, and died before the place was taken;

Talbot wounded and died after he was let out of the Black Hole;

Bishop died of his wounds before the place was taken;

Bellamy and Hayes died in the Black Hole.

Ensigns: Blagg cut to pieces on a bastion; Scot and Wederburne died in the Black Hole.

Gentlemen in the Company's service: Messrs. Jenks, Reveley, Law, Valicourt, and Jebb, died in the Black Hole; Carse cut to pieces having rashly fired a pistol after the Fort (or place) was taken; Smith and Wilkinson cut to pieces bravely defending a pass; Dalrymple died in the Black Hole; Throseby shot dead on the battery at Perrings Garden.

Stephen Page, Edward Page, Street, Grub, Harrod, N. Drake, Dodd, Joniano, Johnston junior, Byng, Orr, and Gosling, died in the Black Hole.

Captains of ships, mates, and others: Captain Collings drowned in making his escape, Hunt died in the Black Hole, Jennings ditto, Purnell killed in the attack, Stephenson ditto, Mr. Dumbleton, wounded, and died in the Black Hole; Parker, Cary, MacPherson, Guy, Whitby, Fidecombe, killed in the attack; Porter, Cocker, Bendal, Meadows, Reid (or Read), died in the Black Hole; Osborne wounded; Barnet, Frere, Wilson, Burton, Leach, Tilley, Cartwright, Lyon, Alsop, Hillier, died in the Black Hole.

Europeans who were in Calcutta when it was taken, but escaped being put into the Black Hole, and were ordered to leave Calcutta by the Moors themselves: Pahra John Knox, George Gray, junior, Captain Mills, Mr. Kerwood, and a few seafaring people.

Taken prisoners and sent up to Muxaduvud (or Muxadovad), after having come out of the Black Hole: John Zephinia Holwell, Esq.; Mr. Richard Court, senior, merchant; Mr. Burdett, a writer; Ensign Walcott, dead.

At Cossimbuzar, were made prisoners William Watts, Esq.; Chief, and Messrs. Collet, Batson and Hastings, of the Council; Messrs. Watts, junior, Sykes, Marriot, and Chambers, writers; Lieutenant Elliot, and about fifty military. The Nabob has given Messrs. Watts and Collet their liberty, and permitted Mrs. Watts and her three children to live in the French Factory at Cossimbuzar.

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Lieutenant Elliot shot himself some days after Cossimbuzar Factory was delivered up to the Moors.

At Dacco were made prisoners, Richard Becher, Esq., Chief, and Messrs. Scrafton, Hyndman, Waller, and Cartier, of the Council; Mr. Wilson, surgeon; Mr. Johnston, senior, a writer; Mrs. Becher and child; Mrs. Warwick, Miss Harding, Ensign Cudmore, and about 25 military. The above were afterwards permitted to live in the French Factory at Dacco, by whose intercession they were set at liberty.

56. '*Edinburgh Evening Courant*,' *Saturday*, 24 *September*, 1757. *London.*

Extract of a letter from an officer at Calcutta.

The Nabob having encamped with a very numerous army a little more than a mile from us, would in all probability have cut us off from all provision, as our black fellows had all deserted at the Nabob's approach; but we very providentially attacked him the day before he intended to give us battle, when we entered his camp at six in the morning, in so thick a fog, that we never discovered even their horses, till within the push of our bayonets; immediately our people kept a continual fire, and made through his camp, which lasted for full two hours, in which time we killed and wounded above 1,300 of his men, near 600 horses, five elephants, several camels, &c.

Two eunuchs were killed close by the Nabob's side, which so intimidated him that he fell prostrate on the ground. In short to sum up the matter, he sent us a letter that he desired to treat and left his camp the next morning.

Our army consisted of 2,000, out of which we have had about 200 killed or wounded.

There were near 500 European troops in Chardonago, the Settlement taken from the French in the East Indies: 150 of whom laid down their arms, and were released on their parole: the others were made prisoners of war.

The *King Fisher* sloop of war, arrived at Plymouth from Bengal, brings advice that we have taken all the French Settlements on Bengal river, except one which must soon submit: likewise all their stores, ammunition, and provisions &c., and that the Nabob has offered to make peace on any terms. It is reported that when Colonel Clive marched against the enemy, he rushed in the midst of the Black army, and played his artillery so furiously upon them that they were soon

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put to flight, and had it not been foggy weather their whole army would have been destroyed.

We hear that an express arrived last Sunday at Kensington from the East Indies: the only contents of which that have hitherto transpired are that General Clive and the Admirals Watson and Pocock have not only recovered our Settlements at Bengal, but have absolutely taken all those that belong to the French there. The Nabob himself narrowly escaped by running through an obscure garden surrounded with a wall, over which he scrambled into some fields. The action must have been very hot, as it is confidently said that on board Admiral Watson's ship every person on the quarter deck was killed or wounded but himself. Admiral Pocock is said to be wounded.

57. '*Edinburgh Evening Courant*,' 6 *October*, 1757. *From the London Papers*, 1 *October*. *East Indies.*

Copy of a letter from an officer on board His Majesty's ship 'Kent,' *dated at Calcutta on the river Bengal*, 8 *April*, 1757.

DEAR SIR,—We have taken Chandernagore, a French Settlement, with the loss on our side of 25 men killed or since dead, and about 60 wounded. The *Tyger* suffered almost as bad. There are now in the *Kent's* side 138 shot and several through both sides: all her masts wounded and rigging very much cut: our quarter deck was cleared; Mr. Perreau, First Lieutenant, killed on it, Mr. Speke wounded (I hope will do well); Mr. Speke his son lost his thigh, (since dead); Mr. Hey the Third Lieutenant the same; Mr. Stanton Fourth Lieutenant, Mr. Barnes purser, Mr. Marriot, midshipman, slightly wounded; Mr. Lister belonging to the Secretaries' office, wounded in the leg; several of the private men wounded. All this while Admiral Watson was very cool and very unconcerned, in regard to himself; and when he was told an officer with a glass was giving directions to point a gun at him, and that the gun was traversed for that purpose, he answered, 'Why then they shall have a fair shot'; stood still, smiled, and went on after the ball had passed just by him. Admiral Pocock, who had hoisted his flag on board of the *Tyger*, was slightly wounded; the master and cook of the *Tyger* killed. I must desire you'd excuse my being so concise, it being occasioned by the great hurry of business we are in, and am, dear Sir, yours sincerely &c.

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58. '*Caledonian Mercury*,' 13 *October*, 1757.

The loss the French have suffered in the late affair (*i.e.* the capture of Chandernagore) in India, by their own accounts, appears to be no less than £500,000 sterling, besides their credit with the natives, which they have been establishing by every art they could make use of.

59. *The* '*Edinburgh Evening Courant*,' 27 *October*, 1757. *London.*

We are informed that Wednesday next the Directors of the East India Company will distribute rewards and punishments to their late servants in the important Settlement of Calcutta in the kingdom of Bengal. A general court is to be called the week after, before which the merits of the Governors elect will be duly stated. At a time when our country stands in need of all our most deserving men, both at home and abroad, it cannot but be a satisfaction to the Public that true desert and unshaken resolution is to be distinguished, and that a just resentment is to be shewn to those who shamefully gave up, who were guilty of a base desertion in the hour of danger, and left the Company's effects, which, by an honest zeal might have been saved, to be plundered by an Eastern banditti in the train of an ambitious Nabob.

C.—TRANSLATIONS FROM CONTINENTAL PAPERS.

60. '*Gazette d'Utrecht*,' *Jeudi*, 2 *Juin*, 1757.

' We have received by a trustworthy channel the following extract from a letter written from Bassora in Turkey in Asia, dated 26th January, 1757. It gives an exact idea of the state of affairs on the Cormandel Coast, particularly in the district of Bengal.

I have the honour to inform you that in the month of June last, the Nawab of Bengal descended with an army of 100,000 men, upon Golgota,[1] a considerable town, possessed by the English on the Ganges; that his approach was so sudden, that few of the people of that nation who were established there had the time to escape; that all the rest were massacred; that the *bazards*[2] and all the houses were destroyed; that, in a word, this town was reduced to a state of desolation which left in it no resources for its commerce.

[1] Calcutta. The French seem fond of this form, which is also found in some English books.

[2] Bazaars.

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This news was communicated to me yesterday by our Factor, who had received it himself from Bunder Abbas by a letter sent him by a merchant of that place, where the affair was divulged by the pilot of an English *paquebot*[1] which had been wrecked, and that the *paquebot* came from Bombay, whence it had been sent by the Governor-General of the English to the Chief of that nation residing at Bassora, to whose hands he was to remit letters of the greatest importance. There reigns a mournful silence in the house of this Englishman, who immediately bought up all the Bengal merchandise still at Bassora. These two circumstances contribute to give credit to the news, which has now spread through the town.

I go from time to time to pay my court to the *Kiaia* of Bassora; but especially since the last three months as he governs the town as Chief, because of the absence of the *Pasha* who has gone to the banks of the Euphrates, a day's distance from here, to amuse himself with hunting. I went, two days ago, according to my custom, to visit the *Kiaia*, though my real reason was to enquire about this news. Hardly had I entered when he repeated it to me and added the following circumstances, that one of the chief Ministers of the Nawab of Bengal, having disappeared for some crime, supposed or real, had come to Chandernagore, a town belonging to the French, to seek for an asylum; that they had refused to give him the protection he asked for, in the fear of getting entangled with the Nawab; that on their refusal, this Minister went to Golgota, to seek for an asylum with the English, who received him; that the Nawab being informed of this had immediately reclaimed him; that the English had refused to give him up, and had accompanied their refusal by expressions with which the Nawab appeared to have been much offended, and that the Nawab in the access of his resentment, had fallen on Golgota with his troops, and had there caused the catastrophe I have just mentioned.

This letter was written by a Factor of the French Company who sent it by express to Constantinople whence the news passed direct to France.

61. *Translation of a memoir sent* 16 *October,* 1757, *for publication in the 'Gazettes' of Amsterdam and Utrecht.*[2]

It is not without astonishment that the French East India Company has learned that in March last the English, with a squadron and

[1] The *Phœnix* arrived at Bussora, November 27, 1756. She was wrecked before January 27, 1757, as a letter of that date from Bussora mentions the disaster.

[2] Archives, Affaires Étrangères, Paris.

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land force, attacked their Factory at Chandernagore, and made themselves masters of it by a Capitulation. The Company has received no direct news.

This Factory like those of all the European nations was unfortified, and the Company had the less reason to fear this act of hostility on the part of the English as the neutrality, which had always been observed on the Ganges between all the European nations, was founded on the opposition of the Nawab to all kinds of fortifications around the European establishments.

This neutrality has always been observed with the greatest exactitude.

When the Dutch seized Pondicherry in the war of 1700 they did not carry their arms against the French in the Ganges.

In the last war after the French had dispersed the English squadron and taken Madras they never thought of attacking Calcutta, though their superior force gave them the power to do so. The English themselves, shortly before, were content with blockading the mouth of the Ganges with their ships of war.

In the end of 1756 before, and even after, the receipt in India of the news of the declaration of war between France and England, when the Nawab of Bengal wished to commence hostilities against the English, though that Prince promised to put the French in possession of Calcutta if they would aid him, and on the other hand in case they refused threatened to treat them like the English, not only did the French persistently refuse to join the Nawab, but even sheltered and assisted in every way they could the English men, women and children, who came for refuge to Chandernagore and the other Factories of the Company after the capture of Calcutta.

Lastly the French had all the more reason to count on this always observed neutrality because the French Company has in its possession the original letters of the Council of Madras, in which it orders the English supercargoes in China to engage the Mandarins to see that the most absolute neutrality is observed between the European nations in the Canton River.

However this may be, the English, who think they can violate in the Ganges a neutrality which they recognise and claim in the Canton River, have set an example which will oblige all nations to raise fortifications and entertain troops, if they do not wish to expose themselves in the future to being driven by each other from the Ganges whenever the superiority of force is at one time on one side and at another time

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on another. This cannot but be prejudicial and disastrous to the true interests of the European Companies which trade to India.

62. '*Le Courrier d'Avignon*,' *Friday, 27 May, 1757. From Paris*,[1] *21 May.*

Reliable news has been received *viâ* Constantinople. It is reported that the Marathas, who are attached to us, continue to make the most cruel war upon the English, whose destruction they have sworn. They have captured a fortress which they [the English] had on the Ganges, which entirely destroys them on that Coast. They intend to pursue them in the same way on the Coast of Coromandel. The reinforcements we are sending there will arrive very opportunely to put a finishing hand to the work of the Marathas and to complete the expulsion of the English from India.

63. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' *18 June, 1757 (from London, 7 June, 1757), and* '*Mercure de France*,' *July, 1757, Article VI.*

The [English] East India Company has just received very annoying news by its ships, *Portfield*, *Edgcote*, and *Chesterfield*. According to the report of the crews of these ships, which have returned from the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, Sourajee Doulah, grandson and successor of the late Aliverdee Khan, Nawab of Bengal, demanded large sums of money from the English established in the neighbourhood of his dominions. The English not having satisfied him in this matter, he marched against them in the month of June of last year with 60,000 men to Calicut, of which town, as well as of all the other establishments of the Company on this Coast, he made himself master. He exterminated all whom he found in them, and carried off all the money and merchandise from the Factories. The Governors of Madras and Bombay have sent a body of troops on the squadron under Admiral Watson to try and re-establish Fort William which the Nawab has destroyed. The crews of the same ships inform us that the ship *Doddington*, belonging to the Company, was wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope, and that only 27 of the persons on board were saved. Another vessel of the Company, named the *Protector*, armed as a privateer, has captured a French vessel sailing from Pondicherry.

[1] Though this comes from Paris, it is not to be found in the *Gazette* of that date.

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64. '*Le Courrier d'Avignon*,' *Friday*, 24 *June*, 1757. *From Paris*, 18 *June*.

We learn that three vessels of the English India Company, arrived in England from the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, have confirmed the disasters which that nation has experienced on the Ganges, with the overwhelming circumstance that the Nabod of Bengal has put the French in possession of all that he has taken from the English. Although the first news of the irruption of this Indian potentate appeared very doubtful, and one was much inclined to believe it false, it did not fail to alarm persons interested in the shares of the Company. But the advices confirming it have made a much greater impression; all London is in consternation, and one cannot say that it is with little cause. More than fifty millions—to which sum the losses of the English on the Ganges amount—deserve their deep regret, and whatever charms their trifling captures at our expense may have for them, it does not appear likely that the capture of the mere hull of a ship,[1] which is probably not in a condition ever to go to sea again, supposing it ever arrives in their ports, will charm away or even sweeten the loss of such a disaster.

65. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' 25 *June*, 1757. *From London*, 14 *June*, 1757.

By the sad event which happened last year in Bengal, the English Company suffered a loss of 2,250,000 pounds sterling, exclusive of that of its commerce in that part of Asia. This unfortunate event is attributed to two principal causes, of which one is the attack made by our nation [the English] upon the pirate Angria, and the other is the protection which the servants of the Company, established at Calicut, gave to a fugitive of rank, whose surrender had been demanded by the Nawab Surajee Dowlah. Whatever may be the real reason, it is believed the Company would not have experienced so disastrous a reverse if all the English who were in Calicut had joined in the defence of the place. The greater part, officers and soldiers as well as

[1] The *Courrier* elsewhere describes this as the French East India Company's ship the *Duc d'Acquitaine* (and not *L'Indien*), which it asserts was captured by two English ships. The *Courrier* contains, in almost every number, the names of ships taken from the English by French privateers. As a very outspoken specimen of an anti-British paper, and as showing how much our commerce suffered from the daring of French privateers, it is curious and interesting reading.

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Company's servants, ran away at the approach of the Indians, and having embarked on the Ganges, precipitately set sail.

66. '*Le Courrier d'Avignon*,' 1 *July*, 1757.
From Paris, 21 *June*.

Everything has not yet been said regarding the evil condition of the English in India. Every day one hears some fresh circumstance which makes it appear worse. They have already had great losses to regret, they have yet very considerable ones to fear. All the Establishments of the Company on the Bengal Coast have been taken from them, and they have the chagrin of seeing the danger of their losing Madras and Bombay also. Sourajee-Doulah, grandson and successor of Ali-verdi-kan, former Nabod of Bengal, who has taken them, after the capture of Calicut, is assembling a new army with which to fall upon their other Establishments. In the siege of Calicut the English lost 60 officers, but the number of soldiers [killed] is not yet known. Of 175 persons who were so fortunate as to escape, 158 were taken and put in dungeons, where, without doubt they have been massacred, like all the English who were in the different Factories. The French Company is now expecting full details and awaits the results of this event.

67. '*Le Courrier d'Avignon*,' *Friday*, 12 *August*, 1757.
From L'Orient, 28 *July*.

So far we have been in error as to the causes of the disaster which the English have suffered on the banks of the Ganges. The stupid imprudence of the Chief of that nation, who was in command at Golgota, was the real cause of their misfortune. Letters from India, dated the 28th October of last year and coming from a trustworthy correspondent, inform us that the Nabod, who has seized this town, finding himself in want of money to sustain himself against a rival, demanded it from the French, Dutch and English. The first two gave it, but the Englishman, not content with refusing, took the letter written him by the Nawab, trampled it under his feet in the presence of the bearer, and said to him, 'Tell your master what importance I attach to his letter, and add that I am waiting for him to come here so that I may rub his beard with bacon,' an insult particularly offensive to the Muhammadans. The messenger made a faithful report of the Englishman's conduct, and the Nawab, touched to the quick by

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this proceeding, immediately assembled his forces and appeared before Calcutta, at the head of 60,000 men, but so far was the Englishman from thinking of fulfilling his threat that he fled and embarked with all his wealth on board a ship which happened to be ready, leaving this unhappy town exposed to the fury of the Nabod.

68. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' 5 *November*, 1757.
From London, 20 *October*, 1757.

The India Company has received letters dated the 15th March last, by which it is advised that the Emperor of the *Moguls* has been deposed, and that another (Prince) has taken possession of the throne.

69. '*Le Courrier d'Avignon*,' 8 *November*, 1757.
From Paris, 29 *October*.

The behaviour of the English, on the river Ganges, where, contrary to the laws of neutrality, they have possessed themselves of the Factory of Chandernagore, belonging to the India Company, has caused general astonishment. The Factory was without fortifications, and this act was the less expected that the neutrality observed on the Ganges was founded on the constant opposition of the Nabots to any kind of fortifications [being erected] around the European establishments. The Dutch also, who, in the war of 1700 took Pondicherry, respected our establishments on the Ganges. We ourselves in the last wars, after having taken Madras from the English, had no wish to attack the Factory of Calicota, of which we could so easily have made ourselves masters, and, when in 1756 the Nabot of Bengal offered to put us in possession of it if we would assist him in its capture, in spite of the threats of this Prince, we Frenchmen constantly refused to assist him, and even sheltered the English in Chandernagore after the capture of Calicota.

70. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' 26 *November*, 1757.
From Amsterdam, 13 *November*, 1757.

All the descriptions of the hostilities committed by the Moors or Marathas on the Bengal Coast, vary in certain details, but agree in the most essential points, and one may be certain of this at least. It is known that the English have caused the Nawab Sourajee Doulah to attack them by having given shelter, in their Factory of Calcutta, to a Moor Prince, who had been deposed. The consequence of this rupture

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has been the complete ruin of the English Factory of Cassimbazar and the loss of Fort William situated near that establishment. The French and Dutch established in the vicinity did their best to receive the English families which were scattered by this disaster and were destitute of shelter. The Nawab emboldened by his successes, wished to exact from the Dutch at Cassimbazar munitions of war and other succours. The Dutch, who had observed the strictest neutrality in this quarrel, excused themselves from furnishing what the Nawab demanded, and the latter imposed upon them a contribution of 2,000,000 rupees. They were forced to come to a composition with him and had much difficulty in getting the contribution reduced to 400,000 rupees. The affairs of the English were soon re-established by the arrival of the squadron under the orders of Admiral Watson, and their only thought was to revenge themselves upon the Nawab. They commenced by plundering Cassimbazar[1] upon the pretext that it contained property belonging to the enemy. On the other side the Nawab, thinking the English attack upon Cassimbazar was due to an understanding between the English and the Dutch, threatened to put everything to fire and sword. This obliged the Dutch to put their most valuable effects upon their ships and other vessels which they had in the river, with the intent of departing for Europe. But the English, upon various suspicions as ill founded as those of the Nawab, resolutely opposed the departure of the three Company's ships which were ready to sail last January. They even arrested the captain of one of these ships, the *Diligence*, and an officer of the ship *Gravesande*. These vessels and the Dutch families on board were set free only after a long time and with much difficulty. However the Nawab, having found many obstacles to the execution of his first projects, conceived the idea of a pacification, and proposed to the Dutch to act as mediators. The English refused their mediation, were determined to treat directly with the Nawab, and concluded peace with him.

71. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' 4 *March*, 1758. *From London*, 18 *February*, 1758.

By the latest advices received by the Admiralty from the Eastern Seas, it has been informed of the death of Vice-Admiral Watson, who was carried off by a fever on the 16th August of last year, and of a revolution effected in this part of India by the defeat and death of the

[1] The writer means Hugli, the Dutch having a Settlement close by at Chinsurah.

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Nawab Sourajee Doulah. The following are the chief details of an event which may resettle all our affairs. The Peace concluded with Sourajee-Doulah appeared more and more unlikely to be permanent as the Nawab continued to elude the execution of the terms of the Treaty. Jaffier-Ally Cawn, one of his chief officers, who, in spite of the estrangement of his master, was secretly attached to us, formed against the Nawab a faction into which he drew the principal personages of his Court, and informed the Council at Calcutta of his designs. This opportunity of ridding ourselves of an irreconcileable enemy was seized upon with joy, and as soon as the necessary preliminaries had been settled with Jaffier-Ally-Cawn, our troops were rapidly got together and marched on Cossimbazar[1] under the orders of Colonel Clive. A detachment of these troops first seized on this town and the Fort of Cutwa, situated on the banks of the river which forms the island of Cassimbazar. The army stopped there two days in accordance with advice sent by Jaffier, whom his confederates had consented to make Nawab. On the 22nd the river was crossed, and the next day the English attacked the army of Sourajee-Doulah, which was entirely routed, the troops commanded by Jaffier-Ally-Cawn and Roi Dowlab having, as was agreed, taken no part in the fighting. On the 26th June Jaffier Ally Caun entered the town of Muxadavad, and, having mounted the ancient throne of the Nawabs of this Province, was acknowledged by all ranks of the nation as Nawab of the three Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Some days after it became known that Sourajee-Doulah had been made prisoner and that the son of the new Nawab has caused him to be secretly put to death. The Treaty made with Jaffier Ally Cawn is very advantageous to us.

72. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' 11 *March*, 1758.
From London, 26 *February*, 1758.

The India Company has nominated, as Governor of all its establishments in Bengal, Colonel Clive who has already made very considerable remittances home through several Dutch merchants.

Admiral Watson has left a fortune of more than 600,000 pounds sterling. Admiral Pocock is also very rich, and the other naval officers are also so in proportion [to their rank]. It is pretended that the common seamen have each 2,000 pounds sterling from the booty made in the expedition against the pirate Angria and in the expedition to Bengal.

[1] Should be the French Settlement Chandernagore, which was seized two months before the march against the Nawab began.

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73. '*Recueil des Gazettes de France*,' 24 *June*, 1758.
From Paris, 24 *June*, 1758.

News has been received, *viâ* Bassora, by letters of the 2nd July, 1757, from Patna, a town on the Ganges, that the English lost in their expedition[1] up the Ganges 1,500 Europeans, killed and wounded in the siege of Chandernagore and in the different battles with the Nawab whom they have deposed, or dead of disease, and that it seems impossible for them to send any merchant ship this year from the Ganges to Europe. A neutral ship, arriving at Pondicherry from Bengal has confirmed the alleged losses of the English and reports that they have in the Ganges not more than two ships of war in a condition to go to sea, one of 60 guns and one of 54, with a frigate, and that the rest of their ships have been condemned as unfit.

[1] The campaigns of Chandernagore and Plassey.

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APPENDIX III.

MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

74. *Account of the loss of Calcutta, composed by Robert Orme at Madras, 27 October, 1756.*[1]

THE Nabob appeared before Calcutta the 15 June with an army of fifty thousand men. It may be right to give some description of this important town. A map would communicate more in a moment, than words in half a day. The river Ganges forms a crescent between two points, the one called Perring's Garden, the other Surman's Garden. The distance between these, measuring along the bank of the river, is about three miles and a half. In the deepest part of this crescent about the middle between the two points is situated *Fort William, a building which many an old house in the country exceeds in its defences.* It is situated a few paces from the river side, on the bank of which runs a Line of guns the whole length of the Fort from north to south, and this is the only formidable part, as it is capable of annoying ships in the river. The ends of this Line are joined to the two bastions of the Fort nearest the river by a garden wall and a gate in each, which would resist one shot of a six pounder, but which would be forced by the second. Opposite to the two bastions mentioned are two others inland to the eastward, but, within thirty yards to the north and forty yards to the south, the bastions are commanded by large houses. To the eastward inland the top of the Church commands the whole of both the northern and eastern ramparts. Northward and southward for the length of a mile, and to the eastward about a quarter of a mile, stand all the English houses, mostly separated from each other by large inclosures. Where the English habitations end to the northward commence those of the principal black merchants, which reach quite up to Perring's Garden. To the southward down to Surman's Garden the houses belonging to a lower class of the natives are less conspicuous. Twelve years ago a ditch had been dug, beginning at Perring's and carried inland of the

[1] This should be compared with the more quietly-written account in Orme's 'History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan.'

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town in a crescent with an intent to end at Surman's, but only four miles of it are finished. At Perring's there was a drawbridge over this ditch and, notwithstanding the southern part of the town lay open, the Nabob determined to force this pass, as it lay in the road of his march into the town, and was repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men from a battery at the head of the bridge and the fire of a ship which flanked the assailants. The day after, the eastern part of the ditch was passed without opposition, and instantly all that part of the town belonging to the black merchants was subjected to the plunder of the Nabob's troops, who exercised all manner of cruelties upon all manner of persons which they found in their way.

Lines, as well as the short time would admit, had been flung up between all the streets of the White Town which led to the Fort, and batteries were erected in the grand avenues to the eastward, to the northward, and to the southward. These were attacked the 18 June in the morning and forced before sunset, as the Moors got possession of houses from which their musquetry killed every man that appeared in the defence of the batteries and at the same time were entirely covered themselves. *Now this is a situation in which all men will fight and the only one in which men of no courage will.*

As soon as the Fort heard that the grand battery of their Lines to the eastward was forced, it was determined to retreat that very night on board the ships and vessels which were anchored in a line with the town. There were not, I think, more than two three-mast vessels, of little defence being merchant men, but a number of vessels of smaller tonnage. It was time to resolve on a retreat for many reasons. It was certain that the Fort could make no longer any defence after the Church which commanded the eastward face of it, Mr. Cruttenden's house which commanded the northward rampart, and the Company's house which commanded all to the southward,—I say, after these buildings should fall into the enemy's hands, and, though they were in possession of partys detached from the Fort at the time that the retreat was resolved, yet they must very soon and infallibly be carried by the superior numbers of the enemy, as other houses and buildings commanded these three, above mentioned, which commanded the Fort, and from these other houses the partys in the Church, Mr. Cruttenden's and the Company's were afterwards beat away. Another reason which justifies this resolution of a retreat that night was the vast number of country women and the wives of souldiers, *troublesome mouths and useless hands*, which had been suffered to enter the Fort at the first

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allarm and which had already began to create a confusion that was likely to end (as it did) in desperate circumstances, should the resolution of a retreat of the garrison be publick, before it was executed. At the same time it was reported that there was not powder for the consumption of forty hours. The soldiery, which were none of the best, had began to establish their tabernacles in rooms where liquor had been deposited and grew mutinous when called to their duty; that part of the militia which consisted of the English inhabitants and which were the real defenders of the place, were jaded to death for not having been marshalled into regular tours of duty. All the rest of the militia, consisting of Armenian and Portugueze, were *dastardly to a degree of infatuation;* they could not be brought on the rampart even by firing pistols at their heads. Reasons these sufficient to justify the necessity of a retreat in which it was resolved to carry off all the papers and more precious effects which were in the Factory.

But the ignorance of military matters was such that at one in the morning the manner of conducting the retreat was not determined, and the tide now set up the river, so that had it been attempted after that hour, if the enemy got into the Fort before the tide should change, the Nabob would find in the Line of guns, which I have mentioned above, a more advantageous battery to annoy the ships from than he could have found with all the cannon in his army, which it is said were seventy pieces of large bores. *It was necessary to retreat. It was determined to retreat and yet the retreat was not made.*

All the European ladies had been conducted on board the vessels before the lines were forced. As soon as the morning broke, it was found that many of the gentlemen and others had privately gone to the ships, and numbers appeared at the water side rendering their passage to the ships impossible by crowding the boats in such a manner that they sunk as soon as they put off from the shore. The principal ship[1] in the river had dropped down in the night as low as Surman's Garden, and this was the principal cause of the vast emotion which so many remaining in the Fort now showed to secure their own persons.

As soon as in the preceding night the tide set up the river and thereby prevented the possibility of a retreat before it changed. It was thought advisable to take the opportunity of the succeeding night, as a retreat in the day would be subject to all the assaults of an enemy which now possessed the shores.

But on a view of the universal confusion in the morning, even those

[1] The *Dodalay*.

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who otherwise perhaps would have stood firm gave way to their apprehensions. The Governor saved himself at ten o'clock in a boat kept on purpose, and in an instant not a boat was left on the shore.

Those who remained in the Fort immediately elected Mr. Holwell their Chief, and still expected a resource in the ship that had been stationed at Perring's Garden. This ship was immediately ordered down before the Fort, but was stranded before she got half way. *Now no hopes of safety remained but in the efforts of despair.*

The Church which commanded the ramparts to the eastward was soon after evacuated by the defenders, being overpowered by the superiour fire of the enemy from the adjacent buildings. The same happened to those who defended the house which commanded the northern curtain and that which commanded the southern. These three parties were before night recalled into the Fort; the ramparts were now assailable by advantageous situations within sixty yards and these possessed by numbers of the enemy.

Under cover of these a general escalade was attempted by the Moors the next morning, but they were repulsed with great loss. Seventy Europeans had now been killed or wounded since the Governor left the Fort. A truce to firing for some hours was demanded by the enemy and agreed to by Mr. Holwell, who ordered his people to rest.

An hour had scarce elapsed before the allarm was given that the enemy were attempting another escalade. At the same time word was brought that the guard of one of the barrier gates which communicated from the western bastions to the line of guns by the water side had been betrayed to the enemy, and a few minutes after the back gate of the Factory was forced by them.

So great had been the fatigues of the garrison, that not a quarter part were risen to this allarm. Those that were more alert, with Mr. Holwell at their head, drew up and presented their arms to fire. The enemy assured them of good quarter. On which, without orders from Mr. Holwell, their arms were laid down and all in the Fort made prisoners to a man.

Thus on the 20th June were the town and Fort (if it may be called a Fort) of Calcutta lost. The Nabob entered the Fort in the afternoon, and admired the building, adding that the English must be fools to oblige him to drive them out of so fine a city. He ordered Mr. Holwell who had been put in irons to be freed from them and that the English in general who were become his prisoners should be treated with humanity.

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But as the night approached, the indiscretion of one or two drunken men served for a pretext in the Nabob's officers to commit *the most desperate act of cruelty that has for many years, if ever, been the lot of English subjects.*[1]

Under pretence that it was necessary all the English prisoners should be confined during the night, the whole number 143 were crammed together into a dungeon not sixteen foot square, from whence about twenty-three came out alive the next morning. The rest, one hundred and twenty-three persons, mostly gentlemen and men of hopes, perished in variety of agonies through suffocation, insulted in their miseries by witnesses of horrors which bar description.

Mr. Holwell, *the gallant defender of the Fort and the asserter of the reputation of the nation*, was one of those who went through this trial. He complained loudly to the Nabob of the inhuman barbarities which had been inflicted on his countrymen the preceding night and added that it was inconsistent with the character of a soldier as the Nabob was to see him, a soldier too, in irons for no other crime than having done his duty.

The Nabob disavowed any knowledge of the horrors of the preceding night and seemed, as much as a man naturally cruel could be, affected with what had passed. He immediately ordered Mr. Holwell to be freed from his chains, but was persuaded by his officers that it was necessary such a man should not be set at liberty. He ordered Mr. Holwell and two other gentlemen of the Company's servants to be carried to Muxadavad but to be well treated. Where, finding nothing done by the English to raise any apprehensions, he gave orders for their full release. The rest of the English he set at liberty before he left Calcutta.

But so very much were his orders preverted in regard to the captivity and release of Mr. Holwell by that spirit of revenge, which had been raised in his officers for the great loss sustained by the Moors in their attacks on the English, that Mr. Holwell and his two companions were carried to Muxadavad fettered, in an open boat and exposed without shelter to all the inclemencies of the climate in the worst season for fourteen days together. When arrived at Muxadavad, they were, still in irons, put into a cow-house and fed with rice and water. At last they were released by the repeated and peremptory order of the Nabob as soon as he was acquainted that his first order had not been obeyed, but this was not till the latter end of July.

[1] See Vol. III., p. 93, No. 41, for a curious parallel.

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The ships and vessels that retreated down the river found themselves much annoyed in their passage by two considerable batteries of cannon, one at Tanna's Fort and the other at Buzbuzzia. Some small vessels were stranded, but the greatest part got down safe to a station called Fulta, thirty miles below Calcutta.

Here they were reinforced by the Company's ship *Delawar:* having on board two hundred soldiers sent from Madras under the command of Major Kilpatrick.

But this reinforcement was not thought sufficient to attempt anything. By the last advices from that place, which are of the 17th of September, they seem determined to wait the arrival of His Majesty's squadron and the troops sent from Madras under the command of Colonel Clive.

To compleat the misfortunes of this unhappy colony, the filth of crouded ships and the want of good provisions in the worst of climates has occasioned disorders amongst them, which are little less than pestilential.

The Moors give out that they lost seven thousand men in the siege of Calcutta. All the powder in the Fort would not have killed so many, but, if the violence of march and the inclemency of the climate through excessive rains are reflected on, it is not impossible but the Nabob's army might be diminished in nearly that number by the time it was returned to Muxadavad. It is certain numbers were killed by the English in the different attacks.

75. *A genuine narrative of the deplorable deaths of the English gentlemen and others who were suffocated in the Black Hole in Fort William, at Calcutta, in the kingdom of Bengal, in the night succeeding* 20 *June,* 1756, *in a letter to a friend by J. Z. Holwell, Esq.*

'Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui. Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulyssei
Temperet a lachrymis?'

VIRGIL: *Æneid,* Lib. II.

TO THE READER.

The following narrative will appear, upon perusal, to be a simple detail of a most melancholy event, delivered in the genuine language of sincere concern, in a letter to a friend, from whom the greatest kindness had been received, and in whom the greatest confidence was placed. It was written on board the vessel in which the author

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returned from the East Indies, when he had leisure to reflect, and was at liberty to throw upon paper what was too strongly impressed upon his memory ever to wear out. If therefore it appears in some places, a little passionate; in others somewhat diffuse; and, through the whole, tinctured with that disposition under which it was written, the occasion and the nature of the performance will sufficiently excuse what might have been considered as imperfections if it had been intended for the public view; and which may perhaps be considered in another light now that through a train of unforeseen accidents it comes to appear in print.

The subject being of a very mixed nature, and something more than a bare relation of private calamity, rendered many people curious to see it, when it was once known that such a paper existed; and as there was nothing contained in it that required either much secrecy or circumspection, it has been freely communicated to several, and, amongst those, to some persons of the first distinction, who thought it might gratify public expectation, more especially if it appeared in the same natural and undisguised dress in which they had seen it; for truth, and more especially so affecting a truth, stands little in need of ornament, and appears to more advantage the less it is assisted by the arts of writing, to which the author being a stranger, he trusted to his feeling, and endeavoured to express by his pen the emotions of his heart. He the more readily yielded to this request of his friends from the following motives, which, as they wrought much upon him, may possibly have some weight with you.

It is somewhat rare to find transactions of an extraordinary nature delivered circumstantially by those who are not only acquainted with but were also actors in them, whilst the matter is fresh in their minds, and, consequently, when they are fittest to give a clear, connected, and impartial account. This therefore having been his original intention, though for the satisfaction only of a private friend, yet, when called upon to make it public, it appeared to him a very persuasive argument, as he was conscious to himself that he had written it with the strictest regard to veracity in every point, and to disburthen his thoughts of that load of affliction, which would have been as intolerable as the misfortune itself, if both had not been qualified by the remembrance of that mercy by which he was delivered, and which seemed to claim a grateful return of public acknowledgement for so peculiar a deliverance.

He was further moved by the consideration that there are some scenes in real life so full of misery and horror that the boldest

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imagination would not dare to feign them for fear of shocking credibility. He thought such scenes as these could not be permitted by a wise, a beneficent Being, but for the sake of their becoming lessons to mankind; and he therefore concluded that this intention could never be better answered than by consenting to render them public; that, by this means, a door of hope and of confidence may be opened to such as may hereafter fall under like tryals, by giving them an instance (and sure a stronger cannot well be given) that we ought never to despair when innocence and duty have been the causes of our distress.

J. Z. H.

MOUNT FELIX,
WALTON-UPON-THAMES,
July 3rd, 1764.

A letter from J. Z. Holwell, Esq., to William Davis, Esq., from on board the 'Syren' *sloop*, 28 *February*, 1757.

DEAR SIR,—The confusion which the late capture of the East India Company's Settlements in Bengal must necessarily excite in the city of London will, I fear, be not a little heightened by the miserable deaths of the greatest part of those gentlemen who were reduced to the sad necessity of surrendering themselves prisoners at discretion in Fort William.

By narratives made public you will only know that, of one hundred and forty-six prisoners, one hundred and twenty-three were smothered in the Black Hole prison, in the night of the 20th of June, 1756. Few survived capable of giving any detail of the manner in which it happened; and of these I believe none have attempted it: for my own part, I have often sat down with this resolution, and as often relinquished the melancholy task, not only from the disturbance and affliction it raised a-fresh in my remembrance, but from the consideration of the impossibility of finding language capable of raising an adequate idea of the horrors of the scene I essayed to draw. But as I believe the annals of the world cannot produce an incident like it in any degree or proportion to all the dismal circumstances attending it, and as my own health of body and peace of mind are once again, in a great measure, recovered from the injuries they suffered from that fatal night, I cannot allow it to be buried in oblivion, though still conscious that, however high the colouring my retentive memory may supply, it will fall infinitely short of the horrors accompanying this scene. These defects must, and I doubt not will, be assisted by your own humane

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and benevolent imagination; in the exercise of which I never knew you deficient where unmerited distress was the object.

The sea-air has already had that salutary effect on my constitution I expected; and my mind enjoys a calm it has been many months a stranger to, strengthened by a clear chearful sky and atmosphere, joined to an unusual pleasant gale with which we are passing the equinoctial. I can now, therefore, look back with less agitation on the dreadful night I am going to describe; and with a grateful heart sincerely acknowledge, and deeply revere that Providence which alone could have preserved me through that and all my succeeding sufferings and hazards.

Before I conduct you into the Black Hole, it is necessary you should be acquainted with a few introductory circumstances. The *Suba*[1] and his troops were in possession of the Fort before six in the evening. I had in all three interviews with him; the last in *Durbar*[2] before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, *on the word of a soldier*, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower *jemmaatdaars*,[3] to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body and sit down quietly under the arched veranda or piazza to the west of the Black Hole prison and the barracks to the left of the court of guard, and just over-against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this veranda, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

At this time the Factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the Armoury and Laboratory; to the left the Carpenter's yard; though at this time we imagined it was the *cotta*-warehouses.[4] Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion that

[1] Surajud-Dowla, Viceroy of Bengal, Bakar, and Orix. (Holwell.)
[2] In Council. (Holwell.)
[3] An officer of the rank of sergeant. (Holwell.)
[4] The Company's cloth warehouses. (Holwell.)

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they intended suffocating us between the two fires; and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us; to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution of rushing on the guard, seizing their scimitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of Messrs. Baillie, Jenks, and Revely, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in; the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

Here I must detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who, on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the Fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me; and, that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time; to which he gallantly replied, that 'then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me.'

To myself and the world I should surely have stood excused in embracing the overture above mentioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed; for I had scarce time to make him an answer, before we observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall corresponding to the arches of the veranda without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the plat-

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form, little dreaming of the infernal apartment in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black Hole prison, there was no resisting it; but like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for, if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongst the first that entered were myself, Messrs. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, Ensign Scot, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and took Messrs. Coles and Scot into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first I believe mortally). The rest of the above-mentioned gentlemen were close round me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

What must ensue appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitless.

Observing every one giving way to the violence of passions, which I foresaw must be fatal to them, I requested silence might be preserved whilst I spoke to them, and in the most pathetic and moving terms which occurred, 'I begged and entreated, that as they had paid a ready obedience to me in the day, they would now for their own sakes, and the sakes of those who were dear to them and were interested in the preservation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them. I

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assured them the return of day would give us air and liberty; urged to them that the only chance we had left for sustaining this misfortune and surviving the night was the preserving a calm mind and quiet resignation to our fate; intreating them to curb, as much as possible, every agitation of mind and body, as raving and giving a loose to their passions could answer no purpose but that of hastening their destruction.'

This remonstrance produced a short interval of peace, and gave me a few minutes for reflection; though even this pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded, and more particularly of my two companions in the window. Death, attended with the most cruel train of circumstances, I plainly perceived must prove our inevitable destiny. I had seen this common migration in too many shapes, and accustomed myself to think on the subject with too much propriety to be alarmed at the prospect, and indeed felt much more for my wretched companions than myself.

Amongst the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old *jemmautdaar* near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance; and indeed he was the only one, of the many in his station, who discovered the least trace of humanity. I called him to me, and, in the most persuasive terms I was capable, urged him to commiserate the sufferings he was a witness to, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place and half in another; and that he should in the morning receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He promised he would attempt it, and withdrew; but in a few minutes returned and told me it was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand. He withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with I believe much real pity and concern) told me it was not practicable; that it could not be done but by the *Suba's* order, and that no one dared awake him.

During this interval, though their passions were less violent, their uneasiness increased. We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse you can form no idea of it. This consequently brought on a raging thirst, which still increased in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture.

Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their cloaths. This was approved as a happy motion, and in a few minutes I believe every man was stripped (myself, Mr. Court, and the two wounded young gentle-

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men by me excepted). For a little time they flattered themselves with having gained a mighty advantage; every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air; and Mr. Baillie proposed that every man should sit down on his hams. As they were truly in the situation of drowning wretches, no wonder they caught at everything that bore a flattering appearance of saving them. This expedient was several times put in practice, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whose natural strength was less than others or had been more exhausted, and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to *rise*, fell to rise no more; for they were instantly trod to death or suffocated. When the whole body sat down, they were so closely wedged together that they were obliged to use many efforts before they could put themselves in motion to get up again.

Before 9 o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Our situation was much more wretched than that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver; no circulation of fresh air sufficient to continue life, nor yet enough divested of its vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it.

Efforts were again made to force the door, but in vain. Many insults were used to the guard to provoke them to fire in upon us (which, as I learned afterwards, were carried to much greater lengths, when I was no more sensible of what was transacted). For my own part, I hitherto felt little pain or uneasiness but what resulted from my anxiety for the sufferings of those within. By keeping my face between two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs easy play, though my perspiration was excessive, and thirst commencing. At this period, so strong an urinous volatile effluvia came from the prison that I was not able to turn my head that way for more than a few seconds of time.

Now every body, excepting those situated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious: 'Water, water,' became the general cry. And the old *jemmautdaar*, before mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring some skins of water, little dreaming, I believe, of its fatal effects. This was what I dreaded. I foresaw it would prove the ruin of the small chance left us, and essayed many times to speak to him privately to forbid its being brought; but the clamour was so loud, it became impossible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the universal agitation and raving the sight of it threw us into. I had flattered myself that some, by preserving an equal temper of mind, might outlive the night; but now the reflection

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which gave me the greatest pain was that I saw no possibility of one escaping to tell the dismal tale.

Until the water came, I had myself not suffered much from thirst, which instantly grew excessive. We had no means of conveying it into the prison but by hats forced through the bars, and thus myself, and Messrs. Coles and Scot (notwithstanding the pains they suffered from their wounds) supplied them as fast as possible. But those who have experienced intense thirst, or are acquainted with the cause or nature of this appetite, will be sufficiently sensible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation; the cause still subsisted. Though we brought full hats within the bars, there ensued such violent struggles and frequent contests to get at it that, before it reached the lips of any one, there would be scarcely a small tea-cup full left in them. These supplies, like sprinkling water on fire, only served to feed and raise the flame.

Oh! my dear Sir, how shall I give you a conception of what I felt at the cries and ravings of those in the remoter parts of the prison, who could not entertain a probable hope of obtaining a drop, yet could not divert themselves of expectation, however unavailing! And others calling on me by the tender considerations of friendship and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me. Think, if possible, what my heart must have suffered at seeing and hearing their distress, without having it in my power to relieve them; for the confusion now became general and horrid. Several quitted the other window (the only chance they had for life) to force their way to the water, and the throng and press upon the window was beyond bearing; many forcing their passage from the further part of the room, pressed down those in their way who had less strength, and trampled them to death.

Can it gain belief, that this scene of misery proved entertainment to the brutal wretches without? but so it was; and they took care to keep us supplied with water, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing us fight for it, as they phrased it, and held up lights to the bars that they might lose no part of the inhuman diversion.

From about nine to near eleven, I sustained this cruel scene and painful situation, still supplying them with water, though my legs were almost broke with the weight against them. By this time I myself was very near pressed to death, and my two companions, with Mr. William Parker, (who had forced himself into the window) were *really* so.

For a great while they preserved a respect and regard to me, more than indeed I could well expect, our circumstances considered; but

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now all distinction was lost. My friend Baillie, Messrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simson, and several others for whom I had a real esteem and affection, had for some time been dead at my feet, and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common soldier who, by the help of more robust constitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held fast by the bars over me, till at last I became so pressed and wedged up I was deprived of all motion.

Determined now to give every thing up, I called to them, and begged, as the last instance of their regard, they would remove the pressure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window to die in quiet. They gave way; and with much difficulty I forced a passage into the center of the prison, where the throng was less by the many dead, (then I believe amounting to one-third) and the numbers who flocked to the windows; for by this time they had water also at the other window.

In the Black Hole there is a platform[1] corresponding with that in the barracks: I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, just opposite the other window, and seated myself on the platform between Mr. Dumbleton and Captain Stevenson, the former just then expiring. I was still happy in the same calmness of mind I had preserved the whole time; death I expected as unavoidable, and only lamented its slow approach, though the moment I quitted the window my breathing grew short and painful.

Here my poor friend Mr. Edward Eyre came staggering over the dead to me, and, with his usual coolness and good-nature, asked me how I did? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myself down on some of the dead behind me on the platform; and, recommending myself to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my sufferings could have no long duration.

My thirst grew now insupportable, and difficulty of breathing much increased; and I had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast and palpitation of my heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding, and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped; but could no longer bear the pains I suffered without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined

[1] This platform was raised between 3 and 4 feet from the floor, open underneath; it extended the whole length of the east side of the prison, and was above 6 feet wide. (Holwell.)

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to push for the window opposite to me; and by an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained the second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window.

In a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceased; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for 'water for God's sake:'—had been concluded dead; but as soon as they heard me amongst them, they had still the respect and tenderness for me to cry out, 'Give him water, give him water!' nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I found no relief; my thirst was rather increased by it; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event; and kept my mouth moist from time to time by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt-sleeves and catching the drops as they fell like heavy rain from my head and face: you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

I came into the prison without coat or waistcoat: the season was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards who robbed me of it when we were under the veranda. Whilst I was at this second window, I was observed by one of my miserable companions on the right of me in the expedient of allaying my thirst by sucking my shirt-sleeves. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a considerable part of my store; though, after I detected him, I had ever the address to begin on that sleeve first when I thought my reservoirs were sufficiently replenished, and our mouths and noses often met in the contest. This plunderer, I found afterwards, was a worthy young gentleman in the Service, Mr. Lushington, one of the few who escaped from death, and since paid me the compliment of assuring me he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my sleeves. I mention this incident as I think nothing can give you a more lively idea of the melancholy state and distress we were reduced to. Before I hit upon this happy expedient, I had, in an ungovernable fit of thirst, attempted drinking my urine; but it was so intensely bitter there was no enduring a second taste, whereas no Bristol water[1] could be more soft or pleasant than what arose from perspiration.

By half an hour past eleven the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable; few retaining any calmness, but the ranks next the windows. By

[1] Water of a warm spring near Bristol.

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what I had felt myself, I was fully sensible what those within suffered; but had only pity to bestow upon them, not then thinking how soon I should myself become a greater object of it.

They all now found that water, instead of relieving, rather heightened their uneasiness; and, 'Air, air,' was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuse that the *Suba*, Monick Chand,[1] &c. could be loaded with, were repeated to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, rushing tumultuously towards the windows with eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows: others who had yet some strength and vigour left made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks, and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which effected us in all its circumstances as if we were forcibly held with our heads over a bowl full of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn until suffocated; nor could the effluvia of the one be distinguished from the other, and frequently, when I was forced by the load upon my head and shoulders to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again to escape suffocation.

I need not, my dear friend, ask your commiseration, when I tell you that in this plight, from half an hour past eleven till nearly two in the morning, I sustained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees in my back and the pressure of his whole body on my head, a Dutch serjeant, who had taken his seat upon my left shoulder, and a *topaz*[2] bearing on my right; all which nothing could have enabled me long to support but the props and pressure equally sustaining me all around. The two latter I frequently dislodged, by shifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs; but my friend above stuck fast, and, as he held by two bars, was immoveable.

When I had bore this conflict above an hour with a train of wretched reflections and seeing no glimpse of hope on which to found a prospect of relief, my spirits, resolution, and every sentiment of

[1] Raja Monickchund, appointed by the *Suba* Governor of Calcutta. (Holwell.)

[2] A black Christian soldier; usually termed 'subjects' of Portugal. (Holwell.)

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religion gave way. I found I was unable much longer to support this trial, and could not bear the dreadful thoughts of retiring into the inner part of the prison, where I had before suffered so much. Some infernal spirit, taking the advantage of this period, brought to my remembrance my having a small clasp penknife in my pocket, with which I determined instantly to open my arteries and finish a system no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when heaven interposed and restored me to fresh spirits and resolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was just going to commit; I exerted a-new my strength and fortitude; but the repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge the insufferable incumbrances upon me at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock, finding I must quit the window or sink where I was, I resolved on the former, having bore, truly for the sake of others, infinitely more for life than the best of it is worth.

In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships, whose name was Carey, who had behaved with much bravery during the siege, (his wife, a fine woman though country-born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived). This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my station. On my quitting, he made a fruitless attempt to get my place; but the Dutch serjeant who sat on my shoulder supplanted him.

Poor Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window, (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing[1]). He laid himself down to die: and his death, I believe, was very sudden, for he was a short, full, sanguine man: his strength was great, and I imagine, had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

I was at this time sensible of no pain and little uneasiness: I can give you no better idea of my situation than by repeating my simile of the bowl of spirit of hartshorn. I found a stupor coming on a-pace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the Reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son the Lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southermost wall of the prison.

When I had lain there some little time, I still had reflection enough to suffer some uneasiness in the thought that I should be trampled upon, when dead, as I myself had done to others. With some difficulty

[1] Unable to fall by the throng and equal pressure round. (Holwell.)

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I raised myself and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation: the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my lying down was my sash being uneasy about my waist, which I untied and threw from me.

Of what passed in this interval to the time of my resurrection from this hole of horrors, I can give you no account; and indeed, the particulars mentioned by some of the gentlemen who survived, (solely by the number of those dead, by which they gained a freer accession of air, and approach to the windows) were so excessively absurd and contradictory as to convince me very few of them retained their senses; or at least, lost them soon after they came into the open air by the fever they carried out with them.

In my own escape from absolute death the hand of heaven was manifestly exerted; the manner take as follows. When the day broke and the gentlemen found that no entreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them, (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make a search for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence, and, imagining I had some signs of life, brought me towards the window I had first possession of.

But as life was equally dear to every man, (and the stench arising from the dead bodies was grown intolerable) no one could give up his station in or near the window: so they were obliged to carry me back again. But soon after Captain Mills (now Captain of the Company's yacht) who was in possession of a seat in the window, had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought by the same gentlemen and placed in the window.

At this juncture the *Suba*, who had received an account of the havoc death had made amongst us, sent one of his *jemmautdaars* to inquire if the Chief survived. They shewed me to him; told him I had appearance of life remaining and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. The answer being returned to the *Suba*, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning.

The fresh air at the window soon brought me to life; and a few minutes after the departure of the *jemmautdaar*, I was restored to my sight and senses. But oh! Sir, what word shall I adopt to tell you the whole that my soul suffered at reviewing the dreadful destruction round me? I will not attempt it; and indeed, tears (a tribute I believe I

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shall ever pay to the remembrance of this scene, and to the memory of those brave and valuable men) stop my pen.

The little strength remaining amongst the most robust who survived, made it a difficult task to remove the dead piled up against the door; so that I believe it was more than twenty minutes before we obtained a passage out for one at a time.

I had soon reason to be convinced the particular inquiry made after me did not result from any dictate of favour, humanity, or contrition; when I came out I found myself in a high putrid fever, and, not being able to stand, threw myself on the wet grass without the veranda, when a message was brought to me, signifying I must immediately attend the *Suba*. Not being capable of walking, they were obliged to support me under each arm; and on the way one of the *jemautdaars* told me, as a friend, to make a full confession where the treasure was buried in the Fort, or that in half an hour I should be shot off from the mouth of a cannon.[1] The intimation gave me no manner of concern; for, at that juncture, I should have esteemed death the greatest favour the tyrant could have bestowed upon me.

Being brought into his presence, he soon observed the wretched plight I was in, and ordered a large folio volume, which lay on a heap of plunder, to be brought for me to sit on. I endeavoured two or three times to speak, but my tongue was dry and without motion. He ordered me water. As soon as I got speech, I began to recount the dismal catastrophe of my miserable companions. But he stopt me short with telling me he was well informed of great treasure being buried or secreted in the Fort, and that I was privy to it and, if I expected favour, must discover it.

I urged every thing I could to convince him there was no truth in the information; or that if any such thing had been done, it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurance to me the day before; but he resumed the subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit with him. I was ordered prisoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the household troops. Amongst the guard which carried me from the *Suba* one bore a large Moratter battle axe, which gave rise, I imagine, to Mr. Secretary Cooke's belief and report to the fleet that he saw me carried out, with the edge of the axe towards me, to have my head struck off. This I believe is the only account you will have of me until I bring you a better myself. But to resume my subject: I was ordered to the camp of Mhir Muddon's

[1] A sentence of death common in Indostan. (Holwell.)

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quarters, within the outward Ditch, something short of Omychund's garden (which you know is above three miles from the Fort) and with me Messieurs Court, Walcot, and Burdet. The rest, who survived the fatal night, gained their liberty, except Mrs. Carey who was too young and handsome. The dead bodies were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of our unfinished revelin, and covered with the earth.

My being treated with this severity, I have sufficient reason to affirm, proceeded from the following causes. The *Suba's* resentment for my defending the Fort, after the Governor, &c. had abandoned it; his prepossesion touching the treasure; and thirdly, the instigations of Omychund[1] in resentment for my not releasing him out of the prison as soon as I had the command of the Fort, a circumstance, which in the heat and hurry of action, never once occurred to me or I had certainly done it, because I thought his imprisonment unjust. But that the hard treatment I met with may truly be attributed in a great measure to his suggestion and insinuations, I am well assured from the whole of his subsequent conduct; and this further confirmed to me in the three gentlemen selected to be my companions, against each of whom he had conceived particular resentment; and you know Omychund can never forgive.

We were conveyed in a *hackery*[2] to the camp the 21st of June in the morning, and soon loaded with fetters and stowed all four in a *seapoy's* tent, about four feet long, three wide, and about three high; so that we were half *in*, half *out*: all night it rained severely. Dismal as this was, it appeared a paradise compared with our lodging the preceding night. Here I became covered from head to foot with large painful boils, the first symptom of my recovery; for until these appeared my fever did not leave me.

On the morning of the 22nd they marched us to town in our fetters under the scorching beams of an intense hot sun, and lodged us at the Dockhead in the open small veranda fronting the river, where we had a strong guard over us, commanded by Bundo Sing Hazary, an officer under Mhir Muddon. Here the other gentlemen broke out likewise in boils all over their bodies (a happy circumstance, which, as I afterwards learned, attended every one who came out of the Black Hole).

On our arrival at this place, we soon were given to understand that we should be embarked for Muxadabad,[3] where I think you have never been; and since I have brought you thus far, you may as well take

[1] A great Gentoo merchant of Calcutta. (Holwell.)
[2] A coach drawn by oxen. (Holwell.) [3] The capital of Bengal. (Holwell.)

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this trip with us likewise. I have much leisure on my hands at present, and you know you may chuse your leisure for perusal.

We set out on our travels from the Dockhead the 24th in the afternoon, and were embarked on a large *wollack*[1] containing part of Bundo Sing's plunder, &c. She bulged a-shore a little after we set off, and broke one of her floor timbers; however they pushed on, though she made so much water she could hardly swim. Our bedstead and bedding were a platform of loose unequal bamboos laid on the bottom timbers: so that, when they had been negligent in bailing, we frequently waked with half of us in the water. We had hardly any cloaths to our bodies, and nothing but a bit of mat and a bit or two of old *gunny*-bag, which we begged at the Dockhead to defend us from the sun, rains, and dews. Our food only rice and the water alongside, which, you know, is neither very clean nor very palatable, in the Rains; but there was enough of it without scrambling.

In short, Sir, though our distresses in this situation, covered with tormenting boils and loaded with irons, will be thought, and doubtless were, very deplorable; yet the grateful consideration of our being so providentially a remnant of the saved made every thing else appear light to us. Our rice and water diet, designed as a grievance to us, was certainly our preservation: for, could we (circumstanced as we were) have indulged in flesh and wine, we had died beyond all doubt.

When we arrived at Hougly Fort, I wrote a short letter to Governor Bisdom (by means of a pencil and blank leaf of a volume of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons given us by one of our guard, part of his plunder) advising him of our miserable plight. He had the humanity to dispatch three several boats after us, with fresh provisions, liquors, cloaths, and money; neither of which reached us. But, 'whatever is, is right.' Our rice and water were more salutary and proper for us.

Matters rediculous and droll abundantly occurred in the course of our trip. But these I will postpone for a personal recital, that I may laugh with you and will only mention that *my* hands alone being free from imposthumes, I was obliged for sometime to turn nurse, and feed my poor distressed companions.

When we came opposite to Santipur, they found the *wollack* would not be able to proceed further for want of water in the river; and one of the guard was sent a-shore to demand of the *Zemindar*[2] of that district light boats to carry prisoners of State under their charge to Muxa-

[1] A large boat. (Holwell.)

[2] A proprietor of land. (Holwell.)

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dabad. The *Zemindar*, giving no credit to the fellow, mustered his guard of pykes, beat him and drove him away.

This, on the return of the *burkandass*, raised a most furious combustion. Our *jemmautdaar* ordered his people to arms, and the resolution was to take the *Zemindar* and carry him bound a prisoner to Muxadabad. Accordingly they landed with their fire arms, swords, and targets; when it occurred to one mischievous mortal amongst them that the taking me with them would be a proof of their commission and the high offence the *Zemindar* had committed.

Being immediately lugged a-shore, I urged the impossibility of my walking, covered as my legs were with boils, and several of them in the way of my fetters; and intreated, if I must go, that they would for the time take off my irons, as it was not in my power to escape from them, for they saw I was hardly able to stand. But I might as well have petitioned tygers or made supplication to the wind. I was obliged to crawl: they signified to me it was now my business to obey, and that I should remember, I was not then in the *Kella* of Allynagore.[1] Thus I was marched in a scorching sun, near noon, for more than a mile and half, my legs running in a stream of blood from the irritation of my irons, and myself ready to drop every step with excessive faintness and unspeakable pain.

When we came near the *Cutcherry* of the district, the *Zemindar* with his pykes was drawn up ready to receive us; but as soon as they presented me to him as a prisoner of State, estimated and value to them at four *lack* of rupees,[2] he confessed himself sensible of his mistake, and made no further shew of resistance. The *jemautdaar* seized him, and gave orders to have him bound and sent to the boat, but on his making further submission, and promising to get boats from Santipur to send after us, and agreeing to pay them for the trouble he had caused, he was released, and matters accommodated.

I was become so very low and weak by this cruel travel that it was some time before they would venture to march me back; and the hard-hearted villains, for their own sakes, were at last obliged to carry me part of the way and support me the rest, covering me from the sun with their shields. A poor fellow, one of our under-*gomastaus* of Santipore, seeing me at the *Cutcherry*, knew me, and, with tears in his eyes, presented me with a bunch of plantains, the half of which my guard plundered by the way.

[1] The name given to Calcutta by the *Suba* after the capture. (Holwell.)

[2] £50,000. (Holwell.)

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We departed from hence directly, in expectation of boats following us, but they never came; and the next day (I think the last of the June) they pressed a small open fishing *dingy*, and embarked us on that with two of our guard only; for in fact any more would have sunk her. Here we had a bed of bamboos, something softer, I think, than those of the great boat, that is, they were something smoother, but we were so distressed for room that we could not stir without our fetters bruising our own or each others' boils, and were in woeful distress indeed, not arriving at Muxadabad until the 7th of July in the afternoon. We were all this while exposed to one regular succession of heavy rain or intense sunshine, and nothing to defend us from either.

But then don't let me forget our blessings; for by the good-nature of one of our guard, Shaike Bodul, we now and then latterly got a few plantains, onions, parched rice, with *jaggree*[1] and the bitter green, called *curella*: all which were to us luxurious indulgencies, and made the rice go down deliciously.

On the 7th of July, early in the morning, we came in sight of the French Factory. I had a letter prepared for Mr. Law the Chief, and prevailed with my friend Bodul to put to there. On the receipt of my letter, Mr. Law, with much politeness and humanity, came down to the waterside and remained near an hour with us. He gave the Shaike a genteel present for his civilities, and offered him a considerable reward and security if he would permit us to land for an hour's refreshment: but he replied his head would pay for the indulgence. After Mr. Law had given us a supply of cloaths, linen, provisions, liquors, and cash, we left his Factory with grateful hearts and compliments.

We could not, as you may imagine, long resist touching our stock of provisions; but however temperate we thought ourselves we were all disordered more or less by this first indulgence. A few hours after I was seized with a painful inflamation in my right leg and thigh.

Passing by our Fort and Factory at Cossimbazar raised some melancholy reflections amongst us. About four in the afternoon we landed at Muxadabad, and were conducted to and deposited in an open stable, not far from the *Suba's* palace in the city.

This march, I will freely confess to you, drew tears of disdain and anguish of heart from me; thus to be led like a felon, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city! My soul could not support itself with any degree of patience; the pain too arising from my boils, and inflama-

[1] Molasses. (Holwell.)

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tion of my leg, added not a little, I believe, to the depression of my spirits.

Here we had a guard of Moors placed on one side of us, and a guard of *Gentoos* on the other; and being destined to remain in this place of purgatory until the *Suba* returned to the city, I can give you no idea of our sufferings. The immense crowd of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked us up from morning till night that I may truly say we narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather proving exceeding sultry.

The first night after our arrival in the stable I was attacked by a fever, and that night and the next day the inflamation of my leg and thigh greatly increased: but all terminated the second night in a regular fit of the gout in my right-foot and ankle; the first and last fit of this kind I ever had. How my irons agreed with this new visitor I leave you to judge, for I could not by any intreaty obtain liberty for so much as that poor leg.

During our residence here, we experienced every act of humanity and friendship from Monsieur Law and Mynheer Vernet, the French and Dutch Chiefs of Cossimbazar, who left no means unessayed to procure our release. Our provisions were regularly sent us from the Dutch *Tanksal*[1] in Coriemabad; and we were daily visited by Messrs. Ross and Ekstone, the Chief and second there; and indeed received such instances of commiseration and affection from Mynheer Ross as will ever claim my most grateful remembrance.

The whole body of Armenian merchants too were most kind and friendly to us; particularly Aga Manuel Satoor: we were not a little indebted to the obliging good-natured behaviour of Messrs. Hastings and Chambers who gave us as much of their company as they could. They had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch Chiefs becoming bail for their appearance. This security was often tendered for us, but without effect.

The 11th of July the *Suba* arrived in the city, and with him Bundoo Sing, to whose house we were removed that afternoon in a *hackery;* for I was not able to put my foot to the ground. Here we were confirmed in a report which had before reached us, that the *Suba*, on his return to Hoogly, made inquiry for us when he released Messieurs Watts and Collett, &c., with intention to release us also; and that he had expressed some resentment at Mhir Muddon for having so hastily sent us up to Muxadabad. This proved a very pleasing piece of intelligence to us;

[1] The Dutch Mint near Muxadabad. (Holwell.)

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and gave us reason to hope the issue would be more favourable to us than we expected.

Though we were here lodged in an open *bungulo* only, yet we found ourselves relieved from the crowd of people which had stifled us at the stable, and once more breathed the fresh air. We were treated with much kindness and respect by Bundoo Sing, who generally passed some time or other of the day with us, and feasted us with hopes of being soon released.

The 15th we were conducted in a *hackery* to the *Kella*,[1] in order to have an audience of the *Suba* and know our fate. We were kept above an hour in the sun opposite the gate; whilst here we saw several of his Ministers brought out disgraced, in custody of *sootapurdars*, and dismissed from their employs, who but a few minutes before we had seen enter the *Kella* in the utmost pomp and magnificence.

Receiving advice that we should have no audience or admittance to the *Suba* that day, we were deposited again at our former lodgings, the stable, to be at hand, and had the mortification of passing another night there.

The 16th in the morning an old female attendant on Allyverdy Cawn's *Begum*[2] paid a visit to our Shaike and discoursed half an hour with him. Overhearing part of the conversation to be favourable to us, I obtained the whole from him; and learned that, at a feast the preceding night, the *Begum* had solicited our liberty, and that the *Suba* had promised he would release us on the morrow. This, you will believe, gave us no small spirits; but at noon all our hopes were dashed by a piece of intelligence from Bundoo Sing, implying, that an order was prepared, and ready to pass the seal, for returning us in irons to Rajah Monick Chaund, Governor of Allynagore, the name the *Suba* had given to Calcutta.

I need not tell you what a thunder clap this proved to us in the very height of our flattering expectations; for I was, as to myself, well convinced I should never have got alive out of the hands of that rapacious harpy, who is a genuine Hindoo[3] in the very worst acceptation of the word; therefore, from that moment, gave up every hope of liberty.

Men in this state of mind are generally pretty easy: it is hope which gives anxiety. We dined and laid ourselves down to sleep; and for my own part, I never enjoyed a sounder afternoon's nap.

[1] The seat of the *Suba's* residence in the city of Muxadabad. (Holwell.)

[2] The Dowager Princess, grandmother of Surajud Dowla. (Holwell.)

[3] Hindoo or Gento. (Holwell.)

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Towards five the Shaike waked me with notice that the *Suba* would presently pass by to his palace of Mooteejeel. We roused, and desired the guard would keep the view clear for us. When the *Suba* came in sight, we made him the usual *salaam;* and when he came abreast of us, he ordered his litter to stop and us to be called to him. We advanced, and I addressed him in a short speech, setting forth our sufferings, and petitioned for our liberty. The wretched spectacle we made must, I think, have made an impression on a breast the most brutal; and if he is capable of pity or contrition his heart felt it then. I think it appeared in spight of him in his countenance. He gave me no reply; but ordered a *sootapurdar* and *chubdaar* immediately to see our irons cut off, and to conduct us wherever we chose to go, and to take care we received no trouble nor insult; and, having repeated this order distinctly, directed his retinue to go on. As soon as our legs were free we took boat and proceeded to the *Tanksall*, where we were received and entertained with real joy and humanity.

Thus, my worthy friend, you see us restored to liberty at a time when we could entertain no probable hope of ever obtaining it. The foundation of the alarm at noon was this: Moneloll, the *Suba's dewan*, and some others had in the morning taken no small pains to convince the *Suba*, 'That notwithstanding my losses at Allynagore, I was still possessed of enough to pay a considerable sum for my freedom; and advised the sending me to Monick Chaund, who would be better able to trace out the remainder of my effects.' To this I was afterwards informed the *Suba* replied: 'It may be; if he has any thing left, let him keep it: his sufferings have been great; he shall have his liberty.' Whether this was the result of his own sentiments or the consequence of his promise the night before to the old *Begum*, I cannot say; but believe we owe our freedom partly to both.

Being myself once again at liberty, it is time I should release you, Sir, also from the unpleasing travel I have led you in this narrative of our distresses, from our entrance into that fatal Black Hole. And, shall it after all be said, or even thought, that I can possibly have arraigned or commented too severely on a conduct which alone plunged us into these unequalled sufferings? I hope not.

I am, dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

J. Z. HOLWELL.

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A list of the smothered in the Black Hole prison, exclusive of sixty-nine, consisting of Dutch and English serjeants, corporals, soldiers, topazes, militia, Whites, and Portugueze (whose names I am unacquainted with), making on the whole one hundred and twenty-three persons.[1]

Of Council.

E. Eyre, Wm. Baillie, } Esqs. | The Rev. Jervas Bellamy.

Gentlemen in the Service.

Messrs. Jenks.	Messrs. Harod.
Reveley.	P. Johnstone.
Law.	Ballard.
Coales, Ens. Mil.	N. Drake.
Valicourt.	Carse.
Jeb.	Knapton.
Toriano.	Gosling.
E. Page.	Bing.
S. Page.	Dod.
Grub.	Dalrymple.
Street.	

Military Captains.

Clayton. Buchanan. | Witherington.

Lieutenants.

Bishop. Hays. Blagg. | Simson. Bellamy.

Ensigns.

Paccard. Scot. Hastings. | C. Wedderburn. Dumbleton, Ens. Mil.

Serjeants.

Serjeant Major, Quarter-Master Serjeant | Abraham Cartwright Bleau | } Serjeants of Militia.

[1] This list gives only fifty-two names. To make up the correct number there should be two more.

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Sea Captains.

Hunt.
Osburne.
Purnell (survived the night, but died next day).
Messrs. Carey.
Stephenson.
Guy.
Messrs. Porter.
W. Parker.
Caulker.
Bendall.
Atkinson.
Leech, etc.

List of those who survived the Black Hole prison.

Messrs. Holwell.
Court.
Secretary Cooke.
Messrs. Lushington.
Burdet.
Ensign Walcott.
Mrs. Carey.
Captain Mills.
Captain Dickson.
Mr. Moran.
John Meadows, and twelve military and militia Blacks and Whites, some of whom recovered when the door was open.

76. *The Troubles in Bengal.*[1]

In the year of Christ 1756 there arose some disputes between Seer Raja Doulet Nabob of Bengal and the English settled at Calcutta, otherwise Fort William, on the River Hugley in the aforesaid Kingdom of Bengal, on account of protection given by the English to a rebellious subject of the said Raja Doulet, whom they absolutely refused to dismiss their Settlement, though often admonished thereto by the ambassadors of the said Prince; but after a tedious negotiation of several months he found the English Governour trifling with him; he was therefore obliged to have recourse to arms; and accordingly expelled them from several Factories they were possessed of in different parts of the country, which he imagined was sufficient to deter them from making a bad use of the priviledges granted to them by his ancestors, but on he contrary he found Mr. Drake, the then Governour of Fort William, so much exasperated at the treatment the Factories had received from the Nabob, that in return to an Embassy sent to him for an accommodation, he only returned threatening and abusive answers, which so provoked the Nabob that he immediately brought an army of 30,000 men into the neighbourhood of the English Settlement,

[1] British Museum, Additional MS., 29,209, vol. i., fol. 33.

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when the Governour and Council were in the utmost confusion at having so unadvisedly, without the least shadow of reason or pretence whatsoever, (but private interest of some individuals) involved the Honourable Company in a dangerous war, when they had neither men, ammunition nor a fortification to resist so powerful an enemy, and one whom they had treated with the utmost contempt ever since he came to the throne, which is a fault never forgiven by the princes of the East. He therefore without loss of time pillaged the town of Calcutta and attacked the English in their Factory House, which they endeavoured to defend as well as possible for some time; but the Governour and Council, who had been the principal cause of the Nabob's approach, seeing themselves in danger of being taken, fled privately out the Factory on board the vessels that lay in the river, and, to prevent the small remains of an unfortunate garrison from making a retreat to the ships in case of necessity, they fell down the river with the ships and boats the 18th of June. The garrison finding themselves deserted by those people who ought to have been the last, defended the Factory with great bravery till the 20th, when the Nabob's army entered the House at a small gate that was delivered up to him by a Dutch serjeant who had been bribed by the Nabob to admit him. Upon the garrison delivering up their arms he seemed to be inclined to dismiss them with order to quit his dominions as soon as possible, but some of the aforesaid serjeant's guard having got drunk with the reward of their treachery, they treated some of the Nabob's soldiers abusively; upon complaint thereof to the Nabob he enquired in what the English punished such crimes; he was informed by some of the black inhabitants they were usually put into the Black Hole until they became sober; he accordingly ordered all the prisoners, without distinction to the number of 140, to be thrust into a small dungeon in the Factory, where before next day 120 of those unfortunate wretches were stifled to death and the other twenty so weak that not more than seven of them escaped. So dreadful and unexpected a catastrophe I think ought to convince the English Company how unjudicial it is to their affairs to entrust the governments of their Colonies to men devoid of honour and who never are soldiers, and seldom have honesty enough to transact the mercantile affairs of their Employers, much less the knowledge of managing their funs (*sic*) and defending their Settlements in the time of war, and are so great tyrants that the least appearance of honour or capacity in a military man is esteemed a crime, as it tacitly accuses them of the want of that virtue which men ought to be

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possessed of who have the honour to be so highly entrusted. But to return to the poor remains of the Colony, after the capture of the Factory House they fell down the river Hugley about one hundred miles to a Dutch place called Fulta; where they remained in the utmost misery and want till the arrival of Admiral Watson with the English squadron under his command in the month of December, who brought with him a detachment of His Majesty's 39th Regiment of Foot and another party of Madrass troops under the command of Colonel Robert Clive, who will soon appear invincible at the head of but a handful of men, and whose actions in Bengal will be equal if not superior to those of that famous conqueror, Alexander of Macedon.

After Mr. Watson had informed himself of the condition of our affairs, he took the first opportunity to advance up the river with his squadron. He met with no opposition from the Nabob's people till he approached a mud fort called Budge Budge, situated on the Hugley about thirty miles below Calcutta. Some miles below the Fort Colonel Clive landed all the troops (except some of His Majesty's that were kept on board to act as marines), and, the night before the ships approached the Fort, marched between it and Calcutta to prevent the enemy from throwing in succours into the place. The next morning the Admiral began to cannonade, which being heard at Calcutta the Governor thereof marched a body of about six hundred horse to reinforce those in the Fort, but was unexpectedly attacked in his march by the Colonel who had some small advantage over the enemy, but that prevented not their attacking him again with a greater body of forces, but still they proved unsuccessful, and towards the evening retired to Calcutta. The ships kept a furious cannonade at the Fort all the day, and in the evening Mr. Watson ordered a body of his seamen to be landed in order to assault and if possible carry the Fort that night, and about two o'clock in the morning they marched into it without any opposition, the enemy having deserted it in the beginning of the night, except only a very few that obstinately resolved to bury themselves in the ruins thereof, which was accordingly effected by the seamen who gave no quarter. After having razed this Fort they proceeded up the river till again stopped by another Fort of the enemy called Tannah about six miles southward of Calcutta, but the Moors made scarce any resistance there but fled with the utmost expedition to Calcutta, where the Admiral without loss of time pursued them, and next day attacked and carried the Factory House and town in a few hours with the loss only of a very few men either of the land or sea forces.

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The Nabob, then at Muxadavad his capital, on the news of the success of the English was somewhat alarmed, but being resolved if possible not to permit them to settle again in his dominions, levied an army of about 40,000 horse and foot and marched them towards Calcutta with the utmost expedition; of which the English being informed they marched out all their troops, to the number of two thousand, three miles to the northward of the town, and there fortified their camp and resolved to await the coming of the enemy, who, in the beginning of January 1757 appeared in the large plain of Dumdum, about three or four miles from the English camp, where he lay some days, not determined whether he would attack the camp or march to the town and demolish it; the last he resolved upon as the safest, but Colonel Clive being informed thereof by his spies, and concluding it to be true, as he observed the enemy's army in motion on the 22nd January[1] at night, thought it the most favourable opportunity that could offer to attack the enemy, marched out of his camp about three in the morning and attacked them about daylight, and marching through their camp made most dreadful havoc, but at last, being overpowered by the number of the enemy, he was obliged to retreat towards the town, where he arrived about eight in the morning with the loss of two hundred of his men killed and wounded, of which were several officers of distinction. However the Nabob being terribly confounded at the resolution of so small a number of troops, and looking with horror on the dreadful massacre they had made in his army in so short a time, resolved if possible to procure a peace; he accordingly sollicited the Admiral and Mr. Clive the next day, and broke up his camp and passed his army over the river to prevent Mr. Clive from surprising him a second time before the Peace could be concluded, which was ratified by both sides a few days after the late action. He restored to the Company all the privileges they had enjoyed in the time of his predecessor and re-imbursed them all they had lost by the capture of their Settlement in 1756.

Scarce was the Peace concluded between the English and the Nabob, when Captain James from Bombay brought from thence a body of 400 soldiers, and His Majesty of Great Britain's Declaration of War against France. Mr. Watson, finding the present opportunity the most convenient that could offer to avenge his countrymen of that perfidious nation for the share they had borne in the late misfortunes they had laboured under in Bengal, resolved to expel them the kingdom.

[1] Should be February 4.

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Accordingly Mr. Clive with the land forces passed the Hughley at Barnagul, a Dutch Settlement, and proceeded to Chandernagore where the French had their Colony, and on the 14th of March attacked several of their batteries, but with little success; however he intended to attack them in the night, but to his great surprise found the enemy had deserted them and retired to their Fort, which is a regular square building, fortified by four bastions and mounting one hundred guns, and at that time defended by a garrison of five hundred European soldiers and of black about one thousand. Mr. Clive having secured all the avenues to the town, ordered two batteries to be erected, which were completed with little loss on the 22nd of March. On the 23rd morning Admiral Watson came to off the Fort with the *Kent* and *Tiger*, two ships of the Line. At 7 began a most dreadful cannonade from the ships and batteries. The troops were posted on the tops of the houses in the town, from whence they annoyed the enemy prodigiously. After the fire had lasted with great fury on both sides for two hours the French beat the *chamade* and surrendered the Fort to Mr. Watson, and the garrison remained prisoners of war. The killed and wounded on the side of the enemy amounted to about three hundred and fifty, and those on the side of the English to about two hundred, most of whom were seamen, the ships lying within one hundred yards of the Fort.

Notwithstanding the French Governor was prisoner of war, he found means to carry on and conclude a treaty offensive and defensive with the Nabob, who was alarmed at the success of the English and not quite reconciled to them, resolved to attack them jointly with the French the first opportunity; but his conspiracy was fortunately discovered by letters of the French Governor's that were seized by some of the English guards passing secretly out of his lodgings.

It was resolved immediately to confine M. Renault, the French Governor, and to attack the Nabob before he could put himself in a posture of defence; the English had likewise many invitations from some of the most considerable lords of that Prince's Court to endeavour to expel him the country as he was become by his monstrous cruelties detestable to all his subjects; Colonel Clive accordingly began his march from Chandernagore the 14th June 1757 with about 1500 soldiers and about 2000 *sepoys*, troops of the country; he proceeded up the river Ganges some days without any attempts to prevent him by the Nabob, who was soon advised what was on foot, and in a few days had levied an army of upwards of 60,000 Moors, and had marched from his capital some time before Colonel Clive knew he had any troops on foot.

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So numerous an army somewhat alarmed Mr. Clive; however he proceeded still up the river and on the 17th arrived at Cutwa, a fort belonging to the Nabob, which he immediately took by assault. There he was informed that the Nabob was encamped about four days' march of him. After having rested his troops two or three days he called a Council-of-War to determine whether it was proper [to attack] so numerous an army: the members of the Council agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that it was impracticable to attack so numerous an army with our small body, which was at least 20,000 to one thousand, besides a party of near 100 French detached from a body of troops that one Laws had the command of at Cossimbazar. However Mr. Clive notwithstanding the resolution of the Council-of-War marched the army from Cutwa on the 21st of June and encamped in a thicket of trees surrounded by a bank, within about three miles of the enemy's army, which consisted of 60,000 Moors, a hundred French and a train of 52 pieces of artillery from 10 to 32 pounders, besides four pieces of cannon the French had mounted on the bank of a fortified Tank about 500 yards from the English encampment. At daybreak on the 23rd the enemy began to be in motion and gradually to surround our camp, at the same time advanced and worked their artillery. At 7 in the morning they approached the camp and came within about 500 yards, when our cannon began to play, and, having the advantage of them by lying covered from them and they exposed to our shot, could see the effects of almost every shot. However notwithstanding their having lost many men and the English few or none, they continued the cannonade till about 4 o'clock in the evening, made some show of attacking the camp, but finding the day too far spent they resolved to return to their camp and early the next morning . . . but Colonel Clive, when he saw that the enemy drew off towards their camp, ordered a party of men to attack their rear, which immediately fled, whose example was immediately followed by the Nabob and all the army. The pursuit lasted till night, and then the English retired to their camp after having slain to the number of three or four thousand of the enemy, with a loss of only about 60 or 70 men killed and wounded. Thirty-two pieces of cannon fell into our hands and all the enemy's beasts of burden. Just after the action Jaffire Ally Can, one of the disaffected lords, was immediately proclaimed Nabob by Mr. Clive, and a few days after seated on the throne of Bengal to the great satisfaction of all his subjects, the other unfortunate Prince being taken soon after by the son of the present King and put to death.

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Translation of the first part of a Memoir by Monsieur Jean Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazar.[1]

Accession of Siraj-ud-daula to the subah *of Bengal. He seizes all the English Establishments.*[2]

Aliverdikhan was *Subadar* or Viceroy of the three *subahs*, Bengal,[3] Bahar and Orissa, which he had usurped from his masters and benefactors, and in which, after surmounting many difficulties as much by the wisdom of his administration as by his uncommon courage, he acquired for himself an authority enjoyed only by sovereigns.

There was in Aliverdikhan a mixture of good and evil qualities. Fifteen or sixteen years of rule had given him the reputation of being a man deceitful and ambitious in the highest degree, but he was brave and knew how to command an army; he understood perfectly well the interests of his Government, favoured the poor merchant, and administered justice very fairly when complaints succeeded in reaching him. One of his great defects was that he left too much power in the hands of people who abused it. This is a general vice throughout the whole of India. There is no department so small that it is not exposed to the vexations of subordinate officers. It is the custom of those who are masters to do nothing themselves. The smallest *zemindar* has his clerks through whom business must be transacted.

Aliverdikhan was none the less jealous of his authority. He especially affected a great independence whenever there was question of any affair between himself and the Europeans. To speak to him of *firmans* or of privileges obtained from the Emperor was only to anger him. He knew well how to say at the proper moment that he was both King and *Wazir*. He liked to be flattered.

He saw with equal indignation and surprise the progress of the

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MSS. Fr. Nouv., reg. 9363. In the British Museum, Additional MS., No. 20,914, is entitled, 'Mémoire sur quelques affaires et l'Empire Mogol, et particulièrement sur celle de Bengale depuis l'année 1756 jusqu'à la fin de Janvier 1761, Law of Lauriston,' which is a duplicate of this Memoir, and possibly the original, as it contains a map and introduction which are not in the Paris copy.

[2] Description written in 1763. (Law.)

[3] These three *subahs*, especially Bengal, are sufficiently well known for me to dispense with describing them. In all the official papers, *firmans*, *parwanas* of the *Mogol* Empire, when there is question of Bengal, it is never named without adding these words, 'Paradise of India,' an epithet given to it *par excellence*. The country supplies all its own wants by its fruitfulness and the variety of its productions, of the other parts of the Empire all stand in need. (Law.)

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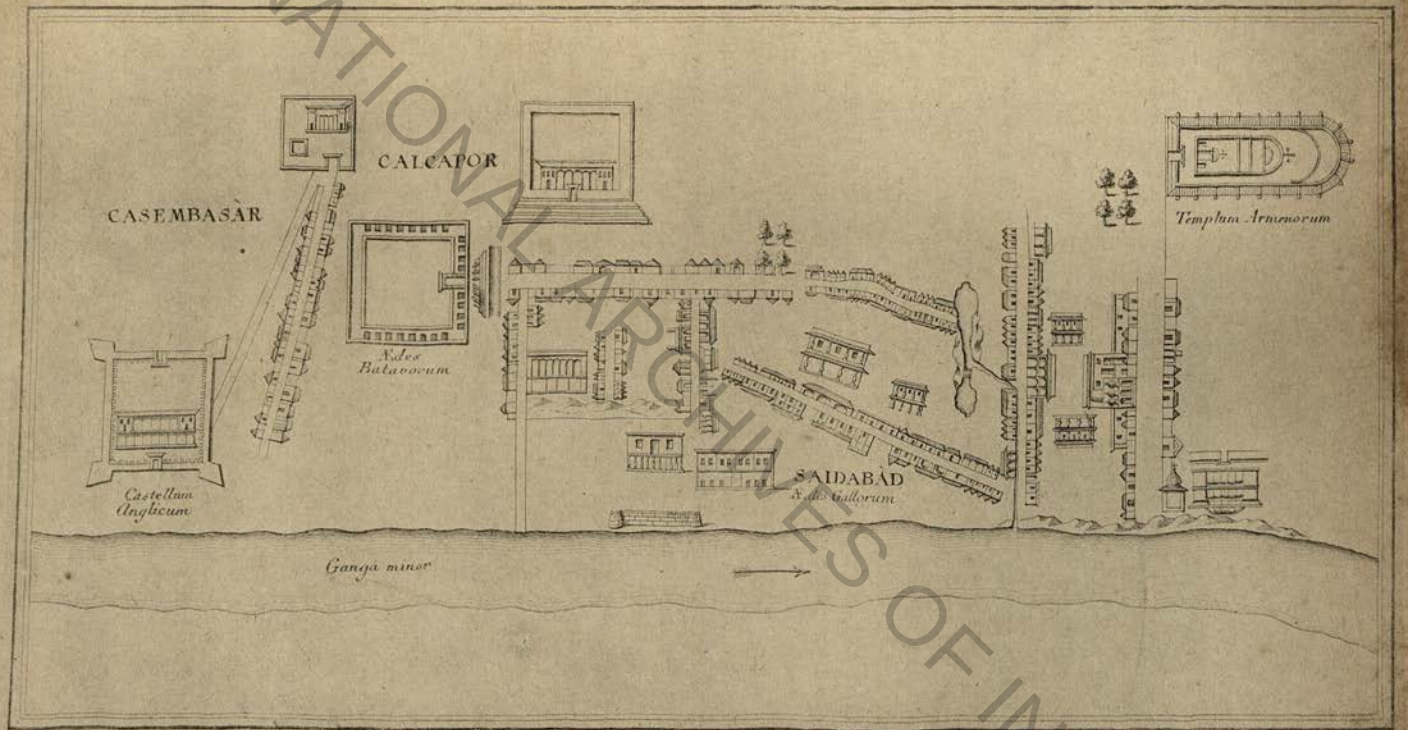

COSSIMBAZAR.

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French and English nations on the Coromandel Coast as well as in the Deccan, for by means of his spies he was informed of everything that happened there. The comparison which he made between the condition of his Provinces and the troubles which had agitated the Peninsula so long, and which he doubtless attributed to the weakness of the Governors, only contributed to flatter his self-esteem. But he was not free from anxiety. He feared that sooner or later the Europeans would attempt similar enterprises in his government.

The French, the English, the Dutch, and the Danish had established themselves in Bengal. The last were so newly settled that there is hardly any question of them. As for the Dutch, their behaviour up to that time justly entitled them to be called good merchants, contented with the fine acquisitions, (which they had made on their first arrival in India,) of those islands which make the whole support of their commerce, and caring little about extending their power on *terra firma*, where it is so difficult to keep what one acquires. It was therefore on us and on the English that the suspicions of Aliverdikhan fell. I even believe he did us the honour to suspect us most. The battle of Ambour[1] in which Anavurdikhan, Nawab of Arcot, and his brother had been killed, the defeat of Nazir Jang, the elevation of Muzzafar Jang to the *subah* of the Deccan, and that of Salabat Jang, all of which were due to the arms and diplomacy of the French, whilst they gave him a great idea of our nation, naturally inclined him to suspicion. The English so far had none of these brilliant achievements to their credit, but they had some solid ones, and as the advantages, real or imaginary, which they had won on the [Coromandel] Coast, or rather in the Carnatic, appeared at that time to be equal to ours, this was perhaps a reason for Aliverdikhan distrusting them as much as he did us.

This disposition of the Nawab showed itself especially when he came to know by his spies that some fortification or other was being erected in Calcutta or Chandernagore. The least repair or the pulling down of a house near the Fort was enough to alarm him. An order was immediately issued to stop the work; and if, after representations, the Nawab thought it was of no importance, the affair would be finished by making him a present, and we would be allowed to go on with the work. It would appear that his plan was to oblige all the European nations indifferently to have no forts. 'You are merchants,' he often said to our and the English *vakils*, 'what need have you of a fortress?

[1] 23 July, 1749.

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Being under my protection you have no enemies to fear.' He would probably have tried to carry out his ideas if he had thought he would live long enough to finish the business, but he was old. Not wishing to risk anything he contented himself with instructing his successor-elect in a line of conduct in which we have had opportunities of seeing what lessons he received from Aliverdikhan.

This successor was Siraj-uddaula[1] a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five, very common in appearance. Before the death of Aliverdikhan the character of Siraj-uddaula was reputed to be one of the worst ever known. In fact he had distinguished himself not only by all sorts of debaucheries but by a revolting cruelty. The Hindu women are accustomed to bathe on the banks of the Ganges. Siraj-uddaula, who was informed by his spies which of them were beautiful, sent his satellites in disguise in little boats to carry them off. He was often seen, in the season when the river overflows, causing the ferry boats to be upset or sunk, in order to have the cruel pleasure of seeing the confusion of a hundred people at a time, men, women and children, of whom many, not being able to swim were sure to perish. If there was any necessity to get rid of some great lord or Minister, Siraj-uddaula alone appeared in the business, whilst Aliverdikhan retired to one of his houses or gardens outside the town, so as not to hear the cries of the persons whom he was causing to be killed. Every one trembled at the name of Siraj-uddaula. People however flattered themselves that when he became Nawab he would become more humane. One may judge of this by the terrible scene presented to us in the capture of Calcutta.

The violent character of Siraj-uddaula and the general hatred for him had given many people the idea that he could never become *Subahdar*. Amongst others the English thought so. They never addressed themselves to Siraj-uddaula for their business in the *Durbar*, but on the contrary avoided all communication with him. On certain occasions they refused him admission into their Factory at Cossimbazar and their country houses, because, in fact, this excessively blustering and impertinent young man used to break the furniture or, if it pleased him, take it away. But Siraj-uddaula was not the man to forget what he regarded as an insult. The day after the capture of the English Fort of Cossimbazar, he was heard to say in full *Durbar*, 'Look now at those Englishmen, who were once so proud that they did not

[1] Son of Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, nephew of Aliverdikhan and Nawab of Patna, assassinated by the Pathans in 1747. Aliverdikhan had adopted Siraj-ud-daula as his son. (Law.)

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wish to receive me in their houses.' In short it was known long before the death of Aliverdikhan that Siraj-uddaula was incensed against the English.

On the other hand he was very well disposed towards us. It being our interest to humour him, we[1] had received him with a hundred times more politeness than he deserved. By the advice of Rai Durlabh Ram and Mohan Lal we had recourse to him in important affairs. Consequently we gave him presents from time to time, and this created a friendly feeling towards us. The previous year [1755] had brought him in a good deal of money owing to the business of establishing the Danes in Bengal. In fact it was only by means of his order that I managed to conclude this affair and the Nawab Aliverdikhan let him have all the profit, so I can say I did not hold a bad place in the heart of Siraj-uddaula. He was a profligate, it is true, but a profligate who was to be feared, who could be useful to us, and who might some day be a good man. Nawajis Muhammad Khan,[2] the young Nawab,[3] had been at the least as vicious as Siraj-uddaula, and yet he had grown up to be the idol of the people.

During the last illness of Aliverdikhan, there were two considerable parties which pretended to the *subahdari*, and which, though divided, appeared likely to unite in order to overthrow that of Siraj-uddaula. The one was the party of the widow of Nawajis Muhammad, whose plan was to get recognised as *Subahdar* the bastard child of Badshah Kuli the brother of Siraj-uddaula, whom she had under her charge. The other was that of Saukat Jang,[4] Nawab of Purneah, a Prince held in much esteem. These parties necessarily caused much confusion. It was in the effervescence of these troubles that the English gave Siraj-uddaula reason for complaint against them. Always led away by the idea that he would not have sufficient influence to get himself recognised as *Subahdar* they carried on a correspondence with the *Begum* whom I have just mentioned, and withdrew to Calcutta the treasures which she wished to put in a place of safety and also those of Raj Balav her chief *diwan*. It is even said they had an understanding with

[1] In our factory at Cossimbazar, where I was Chief. (Law.)

[2] Uncle of Siraj-uddaula.

[3] When the word 'young' or 'little' is prefixed to a title, it generally denotes that the person referred to is the successor to that title. Nawajis Khan was the eldest nephew of Aliverdikhan, whilst Siraj-uddaula was only the son of a younger nephew.

[4] Cousin of Siraj-uddaula.

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the Nawab of Purneah. Siraj-uddaula's suspicions against the English, occasioned by the reports of his spies, were so strong that a few days before the death of Aliverdikhan, which happened in April, the Agents of the three[1] nations were summoned to the *Darbar* and interrogated on three consecutive days. Our Agent and the Dutch Agent were asked if they knew whether there was an understanding between the English and the *Begum*. They said they knew nothing on this subject. The third day they were given *betel* and told to warn their masters to have no communication with the *Begum* or her adherents.

The recommendation of the old and dying Nawab, and the money which he gave to several of the chief officers in the army, did more in favour of Siraj-uddaula than all the leagues could against him. Aliverdikhan dead, Siraj-uddaula saw himself in less than ten days possessor of the *subah*, and recognised even by the *Begum*, who, betrayed, it is said, by the persons from whom she expected assistance, preferred to give up everything and even her most faithful servants rather than risk the event of a conflict, which indeed might have been favourable to her, the small number of troops she had being picked men. In short everything bent before the young Nawab.

As he feared some movement on the part of Saukat Jang he marched against him. It was a mere pleasure party. The Nawab of Purneah, though brave, now showed as little firmness as the *Begum*. On the first news of Siraj-uddaula's approach he sent presents accompanied by a letter in which he tried to justify himself against the rumours which had been current, and concluded by submitting himself to the clemency of his master. Siraj-uddaula granted him his friendship or at least pretended to do so. It is said that it was now that he first saw clearly that the English were taking an important part in the intrigues of his enemies. I was assured that the Nawab of Purneah showed him some letters which he had received from them. This is difficult to believe, but this is how the match took fire.

Some days after the submission of the *Begum* the spies of Siraj-uddaula reported that if he did not take care he would soon have to fear some enterprise on the part of the European nations, that the French were fortifying Chandernagore and the English Calcutta. In fact they were making every effort at Chandernagore to finish one of the bastions of the Fort, the foundations of which had been laid in the time of Aliverdikhan. At Calcutta they were occupied in making or at least repairing a great ditch round the Settlement, and in rebuilding some

[1] i.e., English, French, and Dutch.

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masonry works. On the report of the spies, our Agents and those of the English were ordered to appear in the *Durbar*. A great debate for two days, questions on questions to find out what could be the design of the Europeans, finally a positive order from Siraj-uddaula to us to pull down all the works made since the death of Aliverdikhan, and to the English to fill up their ditch, and, as this was at the moment of Siraj-uddaula's departure for Purneah, he threatened to go himself and raze the Forts of Chandernagore and Calcutta, if at his return he found his orders had not been carried out.

I immediately drew up an *arzi* or request and had one of a similar character brought from Chandernagore. These two papers were sent to Siraj-uddaula who appeared satisfied with them. He even wrote me in reply that he did not forbid our repairing old fortifications but merely our making new ones. Besides, the spies who had been sent to Chandernagore, having been well received and satisfied with certain presents, made a sufficiently favourable report for us, so that our business was hushed up. It was not the same with the English.

The spies of the Nawab were, it is said, very badly treated at Calcutta. Instead of trying to appease the Nawab, who possibly, they thought, was embarrassed by the Purneah affair, the English made a very offensive reply to his order. I did not see it but trustworthy persons assure me it was so.[1] Accordingly no sooner had the Prince heard the contents of the answer from the English than he jumped up in anger and, pulling out his sword, swore that he would go and exterminate all the *Frenghis*.[2] At the same time he gave orders for the march of the army and named several *jemadars* to lead the van. As in his first burst of rage he had used the general word *Frenghis*, which is used for all Europeans, some friends, whom I had in the army and who did not know how our business had ended, sent to warn me to be on my guard as our Factory would be besieged. We were greatly alarmed, as were also the English at Cossimbazar. I spent more than twenty-four hours in much anxiety, whilst I had wood, provisions, &c. brought into the Factory. But I soon knew what to expect. I saw horsemen arrive

[1] The rumour ran that Mr. Drake replied to the spies that, since the Nawab wished to fill up the Ditch, he consented to it, provided it was with the heads of the Moors. I do not believe he said so, but possibly some thoughtless young Englishman let slip these words, which, being heard by the *harkaras*, or spies, were reported to the Nawab. (Law.)

[2] Properly, Franks or Frenchmen, used contemptuously or familiarly of all Europeans, and particularly of the half-caste descendants of Portuguese and natives.

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and surround the English Fort, and at the same time I received a *parwana* from the Nawab telling me not to trouble myself, that he was as well pleased with us as he was ill pleased with the English.

Two or three days passed during which I thought the English had not much to fear; the Nawab was still distant, the horsemen round the Fort did not seem very active. It was said the Nawab would force the English to destroy their Forts of Cossimbazar and Calcutta, send him the family of the above mentioned *diwan* Raj Balav, which had taken shelter with them, and also all the wealth which had been transported to the latter place. They also talked of annulling the privilege which the English have of paying no tolls, but I thought that this affair, like so many others, would be arranged by the mere payment of a sum of money.

On the fourth day the number of horsemen increased. Soon the van of the army was seen to arrive; the Nawab himself advanced by forced marches threatening to order an assault. The English discussed the matter in Council. Moors of distinction were consulted and especially Mirza Hakim Beg, who up to that time had been in charge of affairs connected with the English, and who sent word to Mr. Watts to come without fear to the Nawab's camp. The conclusion come to was that the Chief should go to the Nawab to settle the business or at least to persuade him to wait for replies from Calcutta; but Siraj-uddaula's character was not yet completely known to the world. Mr. Watts had no sooner come to the camp than they tied his hands with a turban and he was forced to appear as a prisoner. The Nawab received him with all the haughtiness of an enraged Sovereign and ordered him to be closely guarded. The news was quickly carried to the English Fort, where it was thought best to open the gates to the Nawab. The next day all the arms and munitions were taken out of the Fort. The officer in command of the few soldiers in it blew out his brains with his pistol rather than see himself a prisoner in the hands of the Moors. The family of the Chief had permission to withdraw to our Factory: some of the Europeans also took refuge there and with the Dutch, the others were put in chains and conducted with the soldiers to the prisons of Murshidabad. Such was the surrender of this little Fort, which many people pretend could have held out long enough to repulse the Nawab and force him to come to terms. I am the less inclined to believe this as I know the weaknesses of the place much better than its strength. Also it appears probable that Mr. Watts's action would have been disapproved of by the Council at Calcutta if, after sustaining

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the Nawab's attack, he had unfortunately been forced to surrender. His obstinacy in refusing to go to the Nawab's camp would have been looked upon by everybody as the real reason of the misfortunes of Calcutta. Besides if he was the dupe of Siraj-uddaula's bad faith, it must be acknowledged that he knew how to take his revenge.

The Fort of Cossimbazar was taken the 2nd June and two days later the Nawab set out for Calcutta, taking with him Mr. Watts and his Second as prisoners, but before following him it will be well to note what happened to us.

The Nawab was as surprised as pleased at the ease with which he had made an end of the English at Cossimbazar. The remains of the respect which he had formerly felt for Europeans made him afraid of failure in his attack on Calcutta, which had been represented to him as a very strong place, defended by three or four thousand men. He wrote to me in the strongest terms to engage the Director of Chandernagore to give him what assistance he could in men and munitions. 'Calcutta is yours,' he said to our Agent in full *Durbar*, 'I give you that place and all its dependencies as the price of the services you will render me. I know, besides, that the English are your enemies; you are always at war with them, either in Europe or on the [Coromandel] Coast, so I can only interpret your refusal as a sign of the little interest you take in what concerns me. I am resolved to do you as much good as Salabat Jang has done you in the Deccan, but if you refuse my friendship and the offers I make you, you will soon see me fall on you and cause you to experience the same treatment that I am preparing for others in your favour.' He wished us to send at once all the ships and other vessels which were at Chandernagore down to Calcutta. After having thanked him for the favourable disposition in which he appeared to be towards us, I represented to him that we were not at war with the English, that what had happened on the Coromandel Coast was a particular affair which had been arranged pacifically, and that the English in Bengal having given us no cause of complaint it was not possible to give him the assistance he asked for without orders either from Europe or from Pondicherry.

Such reasons could only excite irritation in the mind of a man of Siraj-uddaula's character. He swore he would have what he wanted whether we wished it or not, and that, living as we did in his country, his will ought to be law for us. I did my best to appease him but without any effect. At the moment of his departure he sent us word by one of his uncles that he continued to count upon our assistance,

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and he sent me a letter for the Governor of Pondicherry, in which he begged him to give us the necessary orders. This was, I thought to myself, so much time gained.

Calcutta is a town of large extent enclosed only by a ditch. In the middle, on the bank of the Ganges, was a little Fort, badly constructed, without a ditch and commanded by several houses which were not more than fifteen or twenty fathoms away. They had in the place nearly 450 men, soldiers and *topasses;* by joining to these the [ships'] officers, Company's servants, European, Portuguese and Armenian inhabitants, it was possible to make up a force of eleven or twelve hundred men. It was a very small number for the defence of the town, but enough for that of the Fort, if, instead of wasting time in establishing outposts and redoubts in different places a long way from the Fort, they had employed it in pulling down the houses which were in the way, in strengthening the bastions and curtains, and especially in making a good ditch and palisade. They were ignorant in Calcutta of the capture of the Factory at Cossimbazar till three days after the Nawab had commenced his march. They expected this event so little that the Council at Calcutta was writing to the Chief of Cossimbazar to sound the Ministers of the *Durbar* in order to find out what were the real intentions of the Nawab, and to obtain if possible an interview with him.

However Siraj-uddaula advanced only by short marches. He had 50,000 men, horse and foot before Cossimbazar. This number did not appear to him sufficient for the capture of Calcutta, and the fear of failure had caused him to issue orders in all directions to assemble as many men as possible. He waited for a reinforcement of 4,000 men whom the Nawab of Purneah was sending. He wished to unite all his forces. I am assured that the Commandant of the troops sent from Purneah had orders to turn against Siraj-uddaula in case he saw that the English were in a condition to defend themselves. This is the more likely as after events showed that the submission of the Nawab of Purneah was by no means sincere.

From the previous carelessness of the English in Calcutta, one can judge of the trouble and the confusion which reigned on the news of the approach of the Nawab. Nothing was ready. The inhabitants were immediately armed and the European families were ordered to go into the Fort or on board the ships. All that was valuable in the town was placed in the Fort or on board, and outposts were established in what appeared to be the most advantageous places. At last at the

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end of some days everything appeared in such good order that people thought this affair would end in the disgrace of the Nawab. At least that is what I had reason to suppose from the letters which came to me from Chandernagore.

I pass over all the boasting which is attributed, possibly without foundation, to M. Drake, Governor of Calcutta, and his pretended impatience to see the Nawab arrive, but I am much inclined to believe that in general the English regarded Siraj-uddaula as a young madman for having gone so far, and that an appearance of firmness on their part would frighten him away.

The Moors appeared before Calcutta on the 18th June.[1] The same day the Nawab took possession of several parts of the town and made strong entrenchments, under cover of which his guns made a terrible fire. The English saw themselves attacked on all sides at the same time and forced to abandon the outposts where they found themselves too much exposed to the musquetry from the roofs of the houses. Besides they had too few men to guard them. It may also be said that the vigour of the attack, which they had not expected, confused them. Soon there was no more order or subordination: every man ran where he liked and did what he liked. The result of such confusion could not but be disastrous to the Settlement.

Without entering into all the details which I have heard about this matter, and as to the correctness of which I cannot be certain, I prefer to refer you to what the English themselves have written. It is sufficient to say that, all the most valuable treasure and the chief families having been embarked on the ships, about half the officers, Company's servants, soldiers and inhabitants found themselves also on board on the evening of the 19th, without those who remained in the Fort, knowing the reason. But on the 20th, at the sight of certain movements which the ships were seen to make, consternation and despair seized the besieged; they thought they were betrayed. With a few exceptions every one ran to the ships. Many half castes, men and women, were drowned whilst trying to force their way on board. The ships hoisted sail in the greatest disorder, caused partly by a small vessel catching fire.

However the Fort still kept up a lively fire. There were left, owing to the impossibility of getting on board, more than 200 men, with whom Mr. Howell, who had been chosen Commandant, held out for a

[1] Law here refers to the actual attack on Fort William itself. The Nawab was at Chitpur two days before.

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part of the day; but what possibility was there of avoiding surrender? Every one was wearied out. The enemy's cannon balls were falling in the Fort. A useless resistance could only serve to enrage the Moors and procure worse treatment for the prisoners. That was naturally what was to be expected. Mr. Holwell ordered the firing to cease and hoisted the Moorish flag. Immediately the enemy rush from all sides on the Fort; the gates give way to their efforts; they precipitate themselves like madmen on everything before them. The besieged, disconcerted, regain the bastions and defend themselves for some time, but for want of ammunition are forced to throw down their arms. In spite of this the fury of the Moors continued: several more of the besieged were their victims. Mr. Holwell and two other councillors were conducted with their hands tied before the Nawab, who promised that no harm should be done them; however they were not spared any more than the others.

The carnage having ceased some foreign soldiers who were present were given their liberty; the rest, to the number of 146, amongst whom was one woman, the Commandant, two councillors, several officers and many young Company's servants, *belonging to the best families in London*, all wounded or dying of fatigue, were thrown into a dungeon so small that every one had to stand upright to escape being suffocated or crushed.

It was the warmest season of the year: soon a poisonous vapour began to be felt owing to the want of air and the great perspiration of the prisoners thus heaped up on each other. Their thirst became insupportable. At the repeated cries of the prisoners water was brought and passed in hats through the bars of the window, but as the prisoners fought to get it, what each obtained was only sufficient to nourish the flame which devoured them all. The weakest quickly expired; those in whom youth or force of temperament still preserved some vigour became like mad men: every one sought for death but did not know how to find it. The most bitter insults were employed to excite the rage of the Moors and persuade the guard to fire on the prisoners. One of the latter, seeing a pistol in the belt of a companion, seized it and fired on the Moors who were passing the window. The pistol had only powder in it, but the guards were so frightened that immediately several guns were thrust through the bars and fired several times. This was exactly what the wretched prisoners wanted. Every shot was a *coup-de-grace* which they strove with each other to obtain for themselves.

The Moors however looked with pleasure on the scene of horror

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which was passing in the dungeon, for them it was a *tamasha*.[1] To increase their pleasure the idea suggested itself to them of placing below, outside the window, a heap of damp straw to which they set fire. The outer air drove the smoke into the dungeon, but the hopes of the Moors were deceived, they could see nothing more. In fact with the exception of eight or ten, who were strong enough to withstand such terrible sufferings, all the prisoners were soon in a condition in which they could give no amusement to their executioners; they were dead or dying. At last the next day—to finish with this dreadful scene—when the Nawab ordered the prison to be opened, of the 146 who had been shut up only twenty-three were taken out who showed any signs of life. The open air was fatal to some, others had the good luck to survive. The woman was amongst the latter, also Mr. Holwell and four or five officers and Company's servants. The woman was placed in the Nawab's harem. She was I believe the wife of one of the Ganges pilots. As for Mr. Holwell, he was sent with several others to the prisons of Murshidabad and was there set free a few days later.

I leave to every man the liberty of making his own reflections on a catastrophe so dreadful that the bare idea of it makes one shudder. However, if anyone is so fond of the tragic as to desire more circumstantial details, I may tell him that he will be amply satisfied if he will read an account printed by Mr. Holwell himself.[2] I know of no tragedy so capable of exciting horror and pity. The gratitude[3] Mr. Holwell expresses for a few little services which I was able to render him makes me regret that I could not do as much to deserve his gratitude as I should have liked to do.

The English fugitives from Calcutta went down with their ships as far as Fulta, thirty-two miles below Calcutta, and there they were exposed to the greatest inconveniences, especially on account of the unhealthy air. They lived, some on the ships, some on shore, till the middle of December when the forces sent them from the [Coromandel] Coast appeared. The English at Dacca were obliged to abandon their Factory, which was only a simple house, and withdrew to the French Factory pending the Nawab's orders to go and join their ships, which I had great difficulty in obtaining. Siraj-uddaula being informed that there were two or three very charming English ladies there was strongly tempted to adorn his harem with them.

The town of Calcutta, the Fort, all was given up to pillage. It was expected that immense treasures would be found there, but all his

[1] A show or spectacle. [2] See above, p. 133. [3] See p. 149.

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investigations could not procure for the Nawab more than two or three *lakhs* of rupees.

The Nawab when he left Cossimbazar was very much vexed with us, threatening to have the assistance which he asked for whether we wished to give it or not. Doubtless the sight of the European Settlements had afterwards made him reflect. The fear of drawing on his back all the European nations at once had induced him to be politic. At first he appeared satisfied with the letter sent him by the Governor of Chandernagore, and assured him he would always treat us with the greatest kindness. He said the same to the Dutch, but when Calcutta was taken the mask fell. The Nawab had nothing more to fear. Scarcely had he arrived at Hugli when he sent detachments to Chandernagore and Chinsurah to summon the Commandants to pay contributions or be prepared to see their flags taken away and their Forts demolished. In short we were forced to yield what the Nawab demanded, content, as he said, with having punished a nation which had offended him, and with having put the others to ransom to pay for the expenses of the expedition. We saw the tyrant reappear in triumph at Murshidabad, little thinking of the punishment which Providence was preparing for his crimes, and to make which still more striking he was yet to have some further successes.

Tyranny of Siraj-uddaula. Behaviour of the English. Arrival of their forces. They retake Calcutta, beat the Nawab, and make a Peace with him.

Siraj-uddaula was one of the richest Nawabs that ever lived. Without mentioning his revenues, of which he gave no account to the Court of Delhi, he possessed immense wealth both in gold and silver coin and in jewels and precious stones which had been left by the preceding three Nawabs. Nevertheless he thought only of increasing his wealth. If any extraordinary expense had to be met he ordered contributions and levied them with extreme rigour. Having never known himself what it was to be in want of money he supposed that, in due proportion, money was as common with other people as with himself and that the resources of the Europeans especially were inexhaustible. His violence towards them was partly due to this. In fact from his behaviour it appeared as if his object was to ruin everybody. He spared no one, not even his relations, from whom he took all the pensions and all the offices which they had held in the time of Aliverdi-

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khan. Was it possible for such a man to keep his throne? Those who did not know him intimately, when they saw him victorious over all his enemies and confirmed as *Subahdar* by a *firman* from the *Great Mogul*, were forced to suppose there was in his character some great virtue which balanced his vices and counteracted their effects. However this young giddy-head had no talent for government except that of making himself feared, and he passed at the same time for the most cowardly of men. At first he had showed some regard for the officers of the army, because until he was recognised as *Subahdar* he had felt the necessity of doing so. He had even appeared generous, but this quality, which was quite contrary to his natural character, soon disappeared to make place for violence and greed, which turned against him all those who had favoured his elevation in the hope that Siraj-uddaula would behave wisely when once he had become *Subahdar*.

Towards the month of October Siraj-uddaula being informed of the intrigues of the young Nawab of Purneah, who, authorised by letters from the *Wazir*, aspired to nothing less than making himself *Subahdar*, he sent his army into his country, and himself followed shortly after. Saukat Jang had many friends in the army of Siraj-uddaula; one may say, in fact, that he was as much loved as the other was detested, without, however, much deserving the feelings entertained for him.

Every one longed for a change, and many flattered themselves it would take place. In fact it was the most favourable opportunity to procure it. The happiness and tranquillity of Bengal would have been the result. We ourselves could have prevented the misfortunes which have since happened to us, whilst contributing to the general good which possibly even the Dutch would have interested themselves in. Three or four hundred Europeans with a few *sepoys* would have done the business. If we could have joined such a force to the enemies of Siraj-uddaula, we should have placed on the throne another *Subahdar*, not indeed wholly according to our taste perhaps, but, not to be too particular, a *Subahdar* to the taste of the house of Jagat Seth and the chief Moors and *Rajas*. I am sure such a Nawab would have been able to keep his throne. The English would have been re-established peaceably; they would without doubt have obtained some compensation and would have been forced to remain as they were whether they liked it or not. The neutrality of the Ganges being enforced, at least as much as it had been in the time of Aliverdikhan, the English would have been prevented from invading Bengal and sending thither those

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reinforcements which have contributed so much to their success on the [Coromandel] Coast. All this depended on us, but how could we foresee the chain of events which have been as unfavourable to us as they have been favourable to the English?' So we did nothing, and the rash valour of the young Nawab of Purneah, in delivering Siraj-uddaula from the only enemy he had to fear in the country, made it clear to all Bengal that the English were the only power which could bring about the change that every one was longing for.

Before the departure of the army from Murshidabad a plot was already formed, in which it is pretended that Mir Jafar, the *Bakshi*, was engaged and some of the chief *jemadars* It had been decided that during the battle with the Nawab of Purneah, part of the army should remain inactive. Unfortunately Ramnarain, Governor of Patna, had taken no part in this plot. It was known that Siraj-uddaula had written to him to come and join him, but it had been taken for granted that this *Raja* would make some excuse for not coming; so that they were surprised to see him arrive with all his troops which formed a second army. The conspirators were disconcerted. They might however have provided a remedy for this mishap if Saukat Jang had not himself sought his own destruction.

The two armies were very close to each other. Saukat Jang was informed by his spies that Siraj-uddaula was at the head of a body of horsemen whom he saw on an eminence. Excited by the appearance of his foe, and wishing to decide the fortune of the day with him single-handed, Saukat Jang quitted his army and with three or four hundred horsemen who formed his vanguard and precipitated himself on the enemy shouting, 'It is the *Subahdar* whom I seek.' Mir Jafar, who commanded this detachment, in despair at the mistake hastened to reply that the *Subahdar* was not there. It was too late. The fight had already commenced and in the mêlée Saukat Jang received a bullet which stretched him dead on the ground. The news gave as much surprise as joy to Siraj-uddaula, who, trembling at some hint of the plot that was hatching, was in his tent about a league away from the army.

Behold him then, freed by this event from all his inquietudes; detested it is true, but feared even by those who knew him only by name. In a country where predestination has so much power over the mind, the star of Siraj-uddaula was, they said, predominant; nothing could resist him. He was himself persuaded of this. Sure of the good fortune which accompanied him, he abandoned himself more than ever to his passions, which urged him to every imaginable act of violence.

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It can be guessed what we had to suffer, we and the Dutch, at Cossimbazar. There were continual demands on demands, insults on insults on the part of the officers and soldiers of the country, who forming their behaviour on that of their master, thought they could not sufficiently show their contempt for everything which was European; we could not even go out of our grounds without being exposed to some annoyance.

However the English were still at Fulta, very unhappy, and very anxious as to the action which might be taken in regard to them, both on the [Coromandel] Coast and in Bengal. It was quite possible that their requirements on the Coast might prevent the gentlemen of Madras from sending them sufficient assistance. It was necessary therefore to try on the other side and form a party in Murshidabad itself, by means of which to re-establish themselves either by a revolution if that proved the only way, or by the channel of negotiation. The former did not appear easy. In spite of the general hatred amongst the military for Siraj-uddaula, there was nobody who knew the Europeans well: the best informed were the bankers—the merchants—who by their correspondence and commercial affairs had been in a position to learn many things. The house of Jagat Seth, for instance, was in a position to serve the English all the more because to its knowledge of them it joined several causes of complaint against Siraj-uddaula. It had always enjoyed the greatest respect up to the death of Aliverdikhan. It was this family which had conducted almost all his business; it may be said that it had long been the main mover in all the revolutions in Bengal. Things were now much changed. Siraj-uddaula, the most inconsiderate of men, thinking it impossible that he could have need of these *saukars*[1] or that he could have any reason to fear them, never showed them the least politeness. Their wealth was his aim; sooner or later he would seize it. These bankers, I say, were in a position to serve the English. They could, with time, form a party and, even without the assistance of the Europeans, put another Nawab on the throne and re-establish the English as they had been before, but for this much time was wanted. Business, amongst the Indians, moves very slowly; this did not suit the English. The bankers also were Hindus, people who do not like to put themselves in danger. To stimulate them there was necessary on the part of the English at least a commencement of operations, and a happy beginning, of which however they did not see as yet any appearance.

[1] Money-lenders. Here used contemptuously for 'bankers.'

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On the other hand the path of negotiation was quite as difficult, at least if one was not in the humour to accept the very hardest conditions. Siraj-uddaula had the most extravagant contempt for Europeans; a pair of slippers, said he, is all that is needed to govern them. Their number, according to him, could not in all Europe come up to more than ten or twelve thousand men. What fear then could he have of the English nation which assuredly could not present to his mind more than a quarter of the whole? He was therefore very far from thinking that the English could entertain the idea of re-establishing themselves by force. To humiliate themselves, to offer money with one hand and receive joyously with the other his permission to re-establish themselves was the whole project which he could naturally suppose them to have formed. It is to this idea, without doubt, that the tranquillity in which he left them at Fulta is due. I think also that he must have felt the advantage of keeping in his kingdom this commercial people; but as he also knew that the English had at least as much interest in re-establishing themselves as he in keeping them, it is certain that he supposed that the English would at last come and bend their necks to his yoke.

The English, informed of all that was passing in the *Durbar* at Murshidabad by their spies and by the correspondence they had with certain private friends, must have been much embarassed during the first two or three months. Siraj-uddaula's way of thinking took away all hope of re-establishing themselves for a long time unless troops came to them from the [Coromandel] Coast. It may be imagined with what joy they received the first news which announced them. Still nothing was less certain than their re-establishment; so, without giving themselves up to a blind joy, without thinking of intimidating the Nawab by bravado which they were not yet sure of being strong enough to maintain, they determined to keep steadily to the same plan, *i.e.* to negotiate. Whether it succeeded or not this plan could do them no harm: it served, at the worst, to keep up that self-confidence in the Nawab, which made all their safety and gave them time to prepare. Their emissaries therefore were unceasingly active in instructing their friends, concerting with them what ought to be done, and in blinding the Nawab as to their intentions by making fresh proposals which they were certain he would never grant. This gained them time, whilst the Nawab lost his opportunity by his mistaken security and by employing every means his evil genius could suggest to excite against himself both his subjects and the foreigners. We were

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at this stage that without a change it was not possible to hold on in Bengal. Hardly giving any attention to the war in Europe with which we were menaced I desired nothing so much as to see the Nawab well beaten by the English. I thought that mediation on the part of the French, Danes and Dutch would have followed and would have obliged the English to stop short, supposing they had wished to push their advantages too far. This would have put an end to the troubles, and the Nawab, rendered wise by experience, would have recognised it as his interest to treat the Europeans well; but I was very far out in my calculation.

Towards the middle of December we at last heard that the English squadron had arrived, commanded by Admiral Watson—Colonel Clive commanding the troops to be landed. Almost at the same time we received news from Surat informing us of the declaration of war between France and England, which had even been published in Bombay by beat of drum. Naturally one must suppose the English in Bengal were informed of it as soon as we were. However, if we are to believe a memoir which they published, the news of the declaration of war reached them precisely the day after peace was made with the Nabob, that is on the 10th February. But it is this very precision with which they receive the news that makes me doubt the fidelity of their memory. And is it possible to imagine that the English in Bengal, who till then had always known the secret of getting their news more quickly than we, should have been so unfortunate as to be neglected in so important a matter and should not have received news of the declaration of war till two months after we did? That cannot be believed. Besides, they cannot deny that during the month of January 1757 they received the news of the capture of our ship *L'Indien* by their ships. The fact is that Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive and two or three other chief persons, knew everything from the beginning of January. Their reasons for keeping silent, pretending ignorance, and being polite to the French, are, consequently, not difficult to deduce from the circumstances in which the English were in relation to the Nawab. They were much too politic to neglect them. We even kept quite silent ourselves, without quite knowing why.

Hardly was the news of the arrival of the English squadron known at Murshidabad, when the negotiations were conducted more actively. They actually went so far that, owing to false reports, it was believed at Chandernagore that all was going to terminate amicably. 'Be on your guard' they wrote to me, 'it appears certain that the English have

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managed their business. Be very careful to assure the neutrality of the Ganges before things are quite concluded.' The consequences of an amicable agreement were, in fact, sufficiently important to need our watching carefully. But from all that was going on I saw clearly that the end was still far off. The summons sent by Mr. Clive immediately after his arrival had only irritated the haughty spirit of the Nawab who, puffed up by his previous success, could not imagine anyone daring to oppose him.

Our gentlemen at Chandernagore were bound to find themselves in the greatest embarrassment on the arrival of the English, both as regards the English and as regards the Nawab. They knew war had been declared in Europe, but neutrality had always been observed in Bengal, and we were jealous of its preservation. The English however might well pay no respect to it. If they conquered the Nawab it would be easy for them to look further and even to cast their eyes on our Settlements. With respect to the Nawab their embarrassment was not less. Our very anxiety to preserve this neutrality made the Nawab think that we were always more favourable to his enemies than to himself. A second refusal to give him assistance might in the end draw on us a vengeance much more terrible than that which he had inflicted after the capture of Calcutta. Our smaller Factories were at his mercy; it was necessary to recall the people there or to provide for their security.

As a member of Council, and more than any one else in a position to foresee what might happen, in the early part of January I took the liberty of writing what I thought to the Director, commanding at Chandernagore. My sentiments were based on the interest which the English had in being polite to us and in blinding us with fine words until their affair with the Nawab was finished, and on the unquiet and restless nature of the English, who would certainly not hesitate to attack us as soon as they were free to do so, without any regard to a neutrality which was by no means obligatory as no treaty existed. In fact what confidence could one have in a forced neutrality, the observation of which till then had been due only to fear of the *Subahdar*, who for the general good of the country was unwilling to allow the Europeans to commit the slightest act of hostility, especially when it was with this very *Subahdar* that the English were at war? If they managed to get the better of him what would become of their fear, the sole foundation of this neutrality? I said to M. Renault, it is necessary that the English should promptly sign a neutrality which they cannot go back upon, or the only other course which remains to you is to join

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the Nawab. We ought not to wait till we are in extremities. If the Nawab makes peace with the English without having received any assistance from us, you must not expect to receive any from him if you happen to be attacked. This is in fact what has happened. We shall see in due course all the motives which determined the action of the Nawab.

M. Renault, without doubt, did not need my letters to make such reflections, but he had hopes which I had not. Possibly he had orders which restrained him. In fact I am bound to respect the reasons which determined him as well as the gentlemen of the Council, who were all too good citizens not to have kept in view the general good of the nation and the Company. People always see things differently, and the correctness of the reasons for a particular course of action cannot always be judged even by the event. However this may be, the English made their preparations without being hindered in the least either by us or by the Moors.

1757.—The English might number 2,500 Europeans, sailors and soldiers, two or three hundred *topasses* and 1,800 *sepoys* drilled in European fashion. Two days before the new year hostilities commenced by the capture of the Fort of Budge Budge, where the English met with some resistance. Makwa Tana, another fort, was quickly captured, and on the 2nd of January Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive entered Calcutta in triumph, from which place the Moors ran away so frightened that they evacuated the country as far as Hugli. A number of the fugitives did not recover from their fright till they reached Murshidabad, where Manik Chand the Moorish commander of Calcutta contributed as much as they did to spread the alarm. He assured the Nawab that the English who had just come were of a quite different species to those whom he had beaten in Calcutta.

The Nawab was surprised and all the more disquieted because he doubted that the English would stop where they were; he also received letter after letter, by which he was informed that the French and Dutch were acting in concert with his enemies. They even said a French flag had been seen on one of the English vessels: in short, the Nawab did not know whom to trust. However, confiding in the good fortune which had never abandoned him, he flattered himself that he would terminate this war successfully as soon as he appeared before the enemy. Accordingly his troops received orders to march.

Immediately after the capture of Calcutta, the gentlemen at Chandernagore sent deputies to the Admiral to learn on what footing he was

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in the Ganges and to arrange a neutrality pure and simple such as had always been observed. The Admiral replied he would consent to a neutrality only on condition that we joined him against the Nawab. This condition could not be accepted; it was equivalent to telling us we might expect acts of hostility on his part as soon as he was in a position to perform them.

This would have been a sufficiently formal rupture of the pretended neutrality, supposing even it had ever existed by treaty. Nevertheless, the hope of preserving peace carried everything before it. The gentlemen of Chandernagore determined to make a good defence if attacked, and for the rest to leave the English free to act. If hostilities once began it was supposed that their difference with the Nawab could not be terminated quickly, and besides the French thought they might profit by the treaty of peace to establish a formal neutrality between the European nations. Our deputies accordingly returned to Chandernagore with the Admiral's answer.[1] The English who through their emissaries knew everything that happened in Chandernagore, and who had been careful to throw dust in the eyes of everybody by a kind of Manifesto, boldly passed our Colony on the 10th January, and went up to Hugli, which they took after a feeble resistance. The town and all its dependencies were given up to pillage.

No sooner was the news carried to Murshidabad than the Nawab started to join his army which was marching down. He was the more irritated against Europeans in general as the English had passed Chandernagore without opposition, and because it had been reported to him that the Dutch had given them assistance. By force of entreaties and by the interest of various persons I had almost brought back the Nawab to his former disposition in our favour. I had obtained

[1] An English account says the deputies returned [to Chandernagore] in consequence of certain doubts as to the authority of the gentlemen at Chandernagore to make a treaty which would bind their superiors. If this is so, how is it possible that the doubts of the English did not immediately decide the Council of Chandernagore to join the Nawab? Another English memoir says Mr. Watson broke off the conferences for a neutrality in the beginning of March, and determined to attack Chandernagore because the French Chief positively replied that he could not answer for the validity of the treaty in reference to his superiors. But if as early as the month of January the English expressed doubts as to the powers of the gentlemen at Chandernagore, how could they possibly in good faith renew the conferences for a neutrality, and continue them up to March, without previously having had their doubts removed and the validity of the powers of the gentlemen at Chandernagore recognised? (Law.)

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a very favourable *parwana* for M. Renault. As soon as he heard the news from Hugli the Nawab ordered it to be torn up. But in the end this rage of the Nawab against us had no consequences, the gentlemen at Chandernagore having had the opportunity of proving to him how very far they were from acting in concert with the English. I refer to our mediation of which I will now speak.

The Nawab could not understand the rapidity with which the English had ascended the Ganges. He saw that many of his officers were unwilling to march. The nearer he got to Hugli the more did bad news confirm itself and the more he recognised the truth of the reports made to him touching the superiority of the English troops to his own. He learned that the English had abandoned Hugli to return to Calcutta. This raised his hopes again a little, but as he always noticed much reluctance in the behaviour of certain chiefs of his army, he took the course he was advised to of asking our mediation. Consequently he wrote to M. Renault, who, unable to find a more favourable occasion to obtain the end he proposed to himself, did his best to satisfy the Nawab. Deputies were immediately sent to Calcutta to offer mediation. The English Council seemed at first inclined to accept it, but this was only a trick of those gentlemen. Their behaviour to our Deputies, their written proposals, and a thousand other accessories which it would take too long to mention in detail, show conclusively that they had no desire to see us take part in this business. In fact they wrote to the Nawab that they were ready to accept the mediation of the family of Jagat Seth but they would not hear of that of the French. On this our Deputies were recalled.

The Nawab, convinced by what had passed that we were not united with the English, and also persuaded that this refusal being a rebuff to our nation would engage us to assist him, wrote to M. Renault and swore that he would not conclude the war except by his mediation, or by the total destruction of the English. He decided to attack them as vigorously as possible. That was not what he ought to have done.

The English, though bold enough to refuse our mediation, were not without inquietude. They must have been very certain that we would not be driven to join the Nawab, but on the other hand we might any day change our minds. When informing the deputies that the mediation was refused, one of the English Councillors said to them, 'But gentlemen you say nothing more about the treaty of neutrality; we are disposed to take up that affair again.' Our deputies wrote to Chandernagore but were ordered to return. At Chandernagore the

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risks of renewing this negotiation and even of concluding it were clearly understood. The Nawab was at the gates of Calcutta, and if he beat the English might fall upon us or make peace with them at our expense. It was thought wiser to do nothing. But on the other hand our silence as to the neutrality was a kind of refusal which gave the English a better right than ever before to attack us. It was easy to understand also that the English in proposing the neutrality were afraid of our junction with the Nawab. If it had taken place the result of the conflict would have been against them. The Nawab would have willingly followed our advice; he was not yet dominated by fear; but it was not by a vigorous attack that he could reduce the English. The latter wished for nothing better than to see the Nawab precipitate himself upon them. It was their interest to decide the quarrel in the quickest way, for fear we should resolve to take part in it. Accordingly as soon as they saw the enemy they purposely spread the alarm in Calcutta. All the women were ordered on board the ships. The country merchants and people who had entered Calcutta with the English left it, all with the intention of giving confidence to the Nawab and encouraging him to approach so that they might be more certain of the blows they struck him.[1]

The Nawab fell into the snare. He imagined his mere presence sufficed to put the enemy to flight, that the present attack would differ in nothing from that of the month of June in the preceding year. He advanced and was soon in possession of the outskirts of the town. To deceive him more completely and to examine the position of his camp the English sent deputies the day before the attack they meditated. These deputies were ordered to propose an accommodation, but the very conditions must have shown the Nawab this was only a ruse on the part of his enemy.

The next day, the 5th February, at 4 or 5 a.m., in a thick fog, the English, commanded by Colonel Clive, attacked the Nawab's camp and fell precisely upon the tent in which the deputies had seen him the evening before. (I heard this from several Moorish officers who were in the Nawab's army.) Luckily for him he was not there. One of his *diwans* who suspected the deputation had advised him to pass the night in a tent further off. At first the English drove the Moors before them like a flock of sheep and killed 1,200 to 1,500 men, *sepoys* and camp-sutlers, 600 horses at their pickets and a number of draught

[1] The English memoirs boast of having deceived us to prevent our junction with the Nawab. They confess they would have been ruined had it taken place. (Law.)

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oxen. The Nawab was terrified, fled as fast as he could and did not stop till he was sixteen miles above Calcutta. However after the first fire, some officers rallied their men and made a stand, amongst others a body of Persian cavalry who charged with great courage. This firmness joined to the fact that the day was clearing determined Colonel Clive to withdraw. The English had more than 200 men, black and white, killed or wounded in this action, and in the retreat lost two field-pieces the carriages of which had broken down.

One can guess what would have happened to them if the Nawab had had a body of Europeans and a man who knew how to command. One must confess however that, in that case, it is not likely Colonel Clive would have made the attack with so few men. He had only 1,000 Europeans and 1,500 *sepoys* against an army of 60,000 men.

A *jemadar* hurried after the Nawab and represented to him that if he insisted on remaining so far from his army the troops would disband themselves, on which he came back, but the next day he received a letter from Admiral Watson in which, after having reminded him of what had happened the previous day and the risks he had run in spite of the small number of the men he had had to fight against, he threatened him with a much more serious attack, and even to capture him and take him to England. This was more than enough to turn the head of a man already absolutely terrified. The Nawab immediately, without the least reflection, and forgetting his promise to M. Renault,[1] accepted all the proposals of the English and decided to sign a treaty of peace.

We heard of this at Chandernagore. We would have liked to parry this fatal blow but there was no longer any time. We had waited till we were in extremities. We now talked only to people who were absolutely discouraged; so without the least mention of the neutrality peace was signed on the 9th. The Nawab sent word to M. Renault that he was obliged to make peace with the English because of troubles in the direction of Delhi, but this was only an excuse to cover his cowardice. The troubles from Delhi, from which he had nothing to fear, did not prevent him from remaining quietly in his capital. He at the same time communicated to M. Renault the Articles of the treaty of peace, in which it was stated, amongst other things, that the Nawab

[1] M. Law does not show here his usual acuteness. By leaving the French out of he treaty the Nawab took the only step in his power to force them into an alliance with himself, and his subsequent gifts to them were made merely to persuade the English that such an alliance had been secretly concluded.

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would regard the enemies of the English as his own.[1] I have not seen the treaty; possibly certain reciprocal conditions were inserted only in a private letter.

The English are unable to trust Siraj-uddaula. Their intrigues in the Darbar *against the Nawab. They attack and capture Chandernagore.*

The anger of the Nawab against the English far from being softened was naturally inflamed by all that had happened. To his first reasons for dislike there were now joined disgust, the shame of his inability to avenge himself, and the rage caused by seeing his enemies dictate the law to him. On the other hand the English knowing the character of Siraj-uddaula perfectly relied very little on his promises, and expected him at the first favourable opportunity to take his revenge. His whole conduct favoured this idea.

The Nawab, interested in concealing his designs so as to shelter himself from those of the English, thought he could deceive them by a feigned reconciliation and by outward signs of friendship, whilst he disclosed his real sentiments by the number of privileges which he wished to give us over the whole *faujdari* of Hugli.

After our vain attempts to get ourselves included in the treaty of peace between the English and the Nawab the latter was not likely to expect any objections on our part, however the spirit of neutrality which reigned at Chandernagore would not allow us to take or promise anything, and rightly. We hoped that the English, persuaded as well as we were of the advantages of peace in Bengal, would be willing to leave us in quiet and carry their arms into some other part of India. M. Renault refused to engage himself in any way and contented himself with saying the French were strongly on his side. The Nawab started for his capital.

There has always been and still is a great defect in the management of affairs in India, especially in Bengal, *viz.*, that nothing is kept secret. Almost as soon as the Nawab had formed any project it became known to the lowest of his slaves. The English who were suspicious, who had for friends all the enemies of Siraj-uddaula—and he was generally detested—were soon informed of his proposals to M. Renault, and of the letters written on both sides. In spite of this and in any other circumstances than those in which they found themselves by the declaration of war between France and England, the English might have hoped to soften the Nawab by services or presents and other

[1] This was not stated in the Treaty, but in the Nawab's letters to Watson and Clive.

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means customary in this country. Their final resource would have been to stand on their guard. The Nawab not being supported by any one would not have dared to annoy them. But this European war set everything against them. They imagined that sooner or later an alliance would be concluded between us and the Nawab and they would feel the consequences. They were forced to take precautions.

The dethronement of the Nawab had become an absolute necessity. To drive us out of Bengal was only a necessary preliminary. A squadron might arrive with considerable forces to which Siraj-uddaula might join himself; what would then become of the English? They needed then for *Subahdar* a man who was attached to them. Besides, this revolution was not so difficult to execute as one might imagine. With Chandernagore destroyed nothing would be more easy; but supposing even that for many reasons it was necessary to leave us alone, the revolution could be effected by the junction of the English forces with those which would be produced against Siraj-uddaula by his numerous enemies, amongst whom were the most respectable persons in the three *subahs*. This statement demands an explanation.

I have already spoken of the house of Jagat Seth or rather of its chiefs who are named Seth Mahtav Rai and Seth Swarup Chand, bankers of the *Mogul*, the richest and most powerful who have ever lived. They are, I can affirm, the *originators* of the revolution; without them the English would never have carried out what they have. I have already said they were not pleased with Siraj-uddaula who did not show them the same respect as the old Nawab Aliverdikhan, but the arrival of the English forces, the capture of the Moorish forts, and the fright of the Nawab before Calcutta had made a change which was apparently in their favour. The Nawab began to understand that the bankers were necessary to him. The English would have no one but them as mediators and so they had become, as it were, sponsors for the conduct both of the Nawab and of the English. Accordingly, from the conclusion of the Peace there was nothing but kind and polite acts on the part of the Nawab towards them, and he consulted them in everything, but at the bottom it was only trickery. The Seths were persuaded that the Nawab, who hated the English, must also dislike the persons whom the English employed. Making use of the hatred which Siraj-uddaula had drawn on himself by his violence, and distributing money judiciously, they had long since gained over everybody who had access to the Nawab, and who, through his imprudence, could always ascertain what he had in his heart. What this was it

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was easy for the Seths to understand from all that came to their knowledge, and it was calculated to make them tremble, being nothing less than their destruction, which could be avoided only by that of the Nawab.

The cause of the English had become that of the Seths. Their interests were the same. Can anyone be surprised to find them acting in concert? Further, if we call to mind that it was this same house of *saukars* which overthrew Sarfaraz Khan to enthrone Aliverdikhan, and which during the reign of the latter had the management of all important business, one must confess that it ought not to be difficult for persons of so much influence to execute a project in which the English would take a share.[1]

As regards ourselves the English had the choice of two possible courses, either to make a treaty of neutrality binding us not to interfere in the affairs of the Nawab, or to drive us from Bengal and so to take away his last resource. The latter was the more decisive, but the English had not enough men to risk the siege of Chandernagore. The three vessels from Bombay, on which they expected five or six hundred men with munitions of war, had not yet arrived, and it was more prudent to negotiate for a neutrality, in such a manner however as to drag out the negotiations and leave the Admiral free to attack us if circumstances became favourable. At least this is the course they took.

Scarcely had the Nawab started for his capital when Admiral Watson armed his sloops and put munitions of war on country boats. The land forces prepared to march against Chandernagore. Of this no secret was made at Calcutta, but on the other hand Mr. Drake, Governor and Chief of Calcutta, who had another rôle to play, wrote or sent word to M. Renault that he was surprised at his silence and that of the Council at Chandernagore; that with respect to the preparations made by the Admiral he was not ignorant of the disastrous consequences which might result from a war in Bengal; that, it was the interest of both Companies to avoid it; that a well established neutrality was the only means to guarantee them against it; that if M. Renault wished to work for it, he also would do so with all his heart; and that, in spite of the difficulties which might present themselves on the part of the Admiral, he

[1] If we are to believe certain English writers, the Seths were an apparently insurmountable obstacle to the project because of the money we owed them, as if in the perilous position they were in these *saukars* would not be inclined to sacrifice [? risk] a part in order to save the whole. Besides, it will be seen from what follows that they sacrificed nothing. (Law.)

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thought they might effect it. M. Renault asked for nothing better; he was only waiting an overture from the English. He immediately sent deputies to Calcutta, but at the same time, seeing that the English continued their preparations, that they had already even sent troops in the direction of Chandernagore, he thought he ought to take precautions, and demanded assistance from the Nawab, who immediately sent him 2,000 musketeers and 500 horsemen, promising to send if necessary a more powerful force. M. Renault informed me of the embarrassing position he was in. The Nawab was approaching Murshidabad, and I thought I ought to pay him a visit to press for the fresh reinforcements which M. Renault asked for.

I was introduced by Coja Wajid, who passed for the Nawab's confidential agent with the Europeans; a sufficient reason for this belief was founded on the very considerable losses which this Moor had just suffered by the English capture of Hugli. My compliments ended, the Nawab sent me aside to a private place with Coja Wajid, and joined us a moment later. He then began to question me about the forces we had in Bengal and about those of the English; asked me why our ships did not appear and why, being at war with the English, we had not assisted him; and why M. Bussy,[1] who was said to be on the Orissa Coast, did not enter Bengal with his army. Then, passing to the English, he said many things to me about them which made me understand that the Peace he had made with them was nothing less than sincere. Fire flashed from his eyes as he spoke. Then he talked to me of the designs of the English against Chandernagore and promised me all the necessary reinforcements. I took the opportunity to ask for those M. Renault had demanded. The Nawab assured me that five thousand men, horsemen and musketeers, were ready to start within three days.

The English had sent a detachment to take possession of their Fort at Cossimbazar which the Nawab was to surrender to them. I wished the Prince to keep the place and write to the English that he would not fulfil the conditions of the treaty unless they left us in peace. I even asked him in case the English, contrary to his orders, ventured to attack us, he would have the kindness to give me this Fort. It would be an advantage for him as well as for us. The Nawab replied that he could not postpone giving up the Fort of Cossimbazar

[1] I do not understand why M. Bussy did not enter Bengal; he advanced to its very gates. If he had appeared in it the whole country would have escaped from the English. (Law.)

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to the English, but if they attacked us I might do what I liked. He even told me to collect as many *sepoys* as I could and he would furnish the necessary money. I begged him to have the two *lakhs* which he had promised to pay M. Renault paid to me. He said there would be no difficulty in doing this. I asked for the order in writing and he promised I should receive it without delay.

The deputies from Chandernagore were however at Calcutta. The treaty of neutrality was being negotiated with an appearance of good faith on both sides. The negotiations advanced and appeared to be going smoothly. Two or three days passed, at the end of which I received a letter from M. Renault saying he was on the point of concluding the treaty and accordingly ordering me to prevent the Nawab's reinforcement from going down. In a postscript, however, M. Renault added 'Consider what I say on the subject of the reinforcement as not said, let the Nawab do what he thinks best.' The same day in the evening the Nawab, who had apparently also received letters, sent me a *chobdar* to inform me that, as affairs were on the point of settling themselves between us and the English, it was useless to let the reinforcements start. I had no reply to make and simply begged the Nawab to have them always in readiness. It did not become me to insist on their departure after the orders I had received. They were afraid at Chandernagore to excite the jealousy of the English by a too open understanding with the Nawab.[1] Many things might happen to break off the negotiation, and people would not have failed to attribute this as much to Chandernagore as to Calcutta, every body being glad to find a means of exculpating himself.

Some nine days passed. All is arranged. Nothing is wanting but the consent of the Admiral, to obtain which every one strives hard. It is obtained. He agrees to sign the treaty of neutrality, which certainly could not have been more advantageous than it was for the English since we were bound in such a way that they could do what they liked in the country. The Nawab for his part, persuaded we had nothing more to fear, dismissed, in spite of me, the 5,000 men who kept pressing him for their pay. On the 6th March when I least expect it I receive word from M. Renault that everything is broken off, the

[1] M. Renault, having been reproached by Mr. Watson and Mr. Clive that the French Chief at Cossimbazar was incessantly trying to encourage the Nawab against the English, wrote me on this subject so strongly and in such a manner that in reply I went so far as to ask for my recall to Chandernagore. He ordered me to remain where I was. (Law.)

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Admiral, giving as his pretext that the gentlemen at Chandernagore have not sufficient authority to make the treaty, refuses to sign it. The truth however is that on the very day fixed for signing the treaty the Admiral heard of the arrival in the mouth of the Ganges of the ships which he was expecting and which were to decide his conduct.[1] Consequently his scheme of policy changes. The English army marches on Chandernagore. The ships prepare to ascend the Ganges. I go to look for the Nawab.

It would appear from the English memoirs that we had corrupted the whole *Durbar* of Murshidabad in our favour by presents and false statements. I might with justice retort the reproach. In fact, except Siraj-uddaula himself, it may be said the English had, throughout, the whole *Durbar* on their side. Without insisting on this point, let us honestly agree, since the English themselves confess it, that we were, like them, much engaged in opposing corruption to corruption in order to gain the friendship of scoundrels, so as to place ourselves on equal terms with those opposed to us. This has always happened and ought not to be surprising in a Court where Right counts for nothing and, all other motives being of no force, a man can succeed only by the weight of what he puts in the balance of iniquity. For the rest, right or wrong, it is certain the English were always in a position to put in more than we could.

Fear and greed are the two chief motives of Indian minds. Every thing depends on one or other. Often they combine to produce the same result, but when they are opposed fear is always the conqueror. A proof of this is easily seen in all the events connected with the revolution in Bengal. When in 1756 Siraj-uddaula determined to expel the English, fear and greed combined to make him act. As soon as the Nawab had himself proved the superiority of the English troops, fear took the upper hand in his mind, strengthened itself day by day, and soon put him in a condition in which he was unable to follow and often even to see his true interests.

I mention the Nawab first. Certainly his hatred for the English implied friendship towards us. I think so myself but we have seen the character of the Nawab and the state of his mind in general. I ask in all good faith if we could expect any advantage from his friendship? This person, cowed by fear, irresolute and imprudent, could he alone be of any use to us? He must at the least be supported by some one who

[1] The answer to all this is: '*Dolus au virtus, qui suo hoste requirat?*' (Law.)

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had his confidence and who was capable by his firmness of fixing the irresolution of the Prince.

Mohan Lal, chief *diwan* of Siraj-uddaula was such a man, the greatest scoundrel the earth has ever borne, worthy Minister of such a master, but in truth the only person who was really attached to him. He had firmness and judgement sufficient to understand that the ruin of Siraj-uddaula must necessarily bring on his own. He was as much detested as his master. Sworn enemy of the Seths and capable of opposing them, I have the idea that these *saukars* would not have succeeded so easily in their project had he been free to act. But, unfortunately for us, he had been for some time, and was at this most critical moment, dangerously ill. He could not leave his house. I went to see him twice with Siraj-uddaula, but it was not possible to get a word from him. There is strong reason to believe he had been poisoned. By this [accident] Siraj-uddaula saw himself deprived of his only support.

Coja Wajid, who had introduced me to the Nawab, and who, one doubtless supposes was our patron, was a great merchant of Hugli, (who was only consulted by the Nawab because, he having associated with the Europeans and especially the English, the Nawab imagined he knew them perfectly), one of the most timid of men, who wanted to be on good terms with every body and who, had he seen the dagger raised, would have thought he might offend Siraj-uddaula by warning him that some one was about to assassinate him.[1] Possibly he did not love the Seths but he feared them, which was sufficient to make him useless to us.

Rai Durlabh Ram, the other *diwan* of the Nawab, was the man to whom I was bound to trust most. Before the arrival of Mr. Clive he might have been thought the enemy of the English. It was he who pretended to have beaten them and to have taken Calcutta. He wished, he said, to maintain his reputation ; but after the affair of the 5th February, in which the only part he took was to share in the flight,

[1] In India it is thought disrespectful to tell a great man clearly the evil which is said of him. If anyone knows that designs are being formed against his life, the subject or inferior must use circumlocutions, suggest the subject in vague terms, and speak in enigmas. It is for the Nawab to divine what is meant. If he has not the wit, so much the worse for him. As a foreigner, I was naturally more bold, and said what I thought to Siraj-uddaula. Coja Wajid did not hesitate to blame me, so that for a long time I did not know what to think of him. This man finally fell a victim to his diplomacies, perhaps also to his imprudences. One gets tired of continual diplomacies, and what is good in the beginning of a business becomes in the end an imprudence. (Law.)

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he was not the same man; he feared nothing so much as to have to fight the English. This fear disposed him to come to terms gradually with the Seths of whose greatness he was very jealous. He also hated the Nawab by whom he had been ill used on many occasions. In short I could never get him to say a single word in our favour in the *Durbar*. The fear of compromising himself made him decide to remain neutral for the present, though firmly resolved to join in the end that side which appeared to him to be the stronger.

This was the credit which we had in the *Durbar*, of which people talked so loudly. I look upon Siraj-uddaula in this instance as a machine, beneficial to us, but which, its movements being arrested by a multiplicity of faults in the machine itself, cannot be made to work freely except by violent efforts. We were left to our own resources. If we had had to combat the faults of Siraj-uddaula alone we should have had trouble enough, but what could we do against these faults supported by the efforts of all those who were interested in encouraging them? To overcome these obstacles we needed nothing less than a European army under a chief of reputation.

The English had on their side, in the *Durbar*, the terror of their arms, the faults of Siraj-uddaula, the dominant influence and the refined policy of the Seths, who, to conceal their game more completely and knowing it pleased the Nawab, often spoke all the ill they could of the English, in order to excite him against them and to gain his confidence. The Nawab fell readily into the snare, said every thing that came into his mind, and thus put his enemies in a position to anticipate all the evil which he might have been able to do them. The English had on their side all the chief officers in the army of the Nawab, Mir Jafar Ali Khan, Khodadad Khan Latty, and a number of others whom their presents and the influence of the Seths attached to them, all the Ministers of the old Court disgraced by Siraj-uddaula, nearly all the secretaries,[1] the writers of the *Durbar* and even the eunuchs of the harem. What effect could they not expect from all these forces united and put in motion by a man so skilful as Mr. Watts?

I used to go punctually every day to the *Durbar*, and I always left it

[1] Witness the letter written to the English Admiral Watson, by which it is pretended the Nawab authorized him to undertake the siege of Chandernagore. The English Memoir confesses it was a surprise, and that the secretary must have been bribed to write it in a way suitable to the views of M. Watts. The Nawab never read the letters which he ordered to be written; besides, the Moors never sign their names. The envelope being closed and well fastened, the secretary asks the Nawab for his seal, and seals it in his presence. Often there is a counterfeit seal. (Law.)

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with the most favourable answers. The Nawab gave the most formal orders in my presence and so I counted on a prompt and powerful reinforcement. The Nawab wrote many letters both to the Admiral and to Colonel Clive to persuade them not to attack us. 'The wish of the Emperor,' he said to them, 'is that foreigners should not make war in his country. I am bound to hinder such troubles. If you attack the French I shall be obliged to oppose you.' He received several replies. In some they seemed inclined to obey him, in others they were undecided; others again were decisive, they spoke as his masters; they summoned the Nawab to keep his word; they referred him to the treaty of Calcutta in which it was said the Nawab would regard as his enemies all those of the English. The mere mention of this treaty made the Nawab indignant and at the same time made him tremble at the experience he had had of the superiority of the English arms. The English knew his weakness and made use of it.

In spite of this the reinforcements were ready to start, the soldiers had been paid, the commandant[1] waited only for his marching orders. I went to see him and promised him a large sum if he succeeded in raising the siege of Chandernagore. I also visited several of the chief officers, to whom I promised rewards proportionate to their rank. I represented to the Nawab that the siege was inevitable if the reinforcements did not set out at once, and I tried to persuade him to send off the commandant in my presence. All is ready, replied the Nawab, but before resorting to arms we should try all possible means to avoid a rupture, and all the more so as the English have just promised to obey the orders I shall send them. I recognised the Seths in these details. They encouraged the Nawab in a false impression about this affair. On the one hand they assured him that the march of the English was only to frighten us and to make us subscribe to the treaty of neutrality, on the other hand they augmented his natural timidity by exaggerating the English forces, by representing the risk he himself ran in giving us reinforcements which possibly would not suffice to prevent the capture of Chandernagore if the English were determined to besiege it, and that this would also furnish an excuse for them to attack him. They managed so well that they undid in the evening all that I had effected in the morning.

[1] This was the boaster Rai Durlabh Ram who had already received much from me; but all the treasures of the Universe would not have delivered him from the fear of having to fight against the English. He had with him as his second in command a good officer, Mir Madan, the only man I counted upon. (Law.)

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I resolved to visit the bankers. They immediately started talking about our debts, calling my attention to the want of punctuality in our payments. I told them that was not the question just now, that I came to them upon a much more interesting subject which concerned them as well as us in respect to these very debts for which they were asking payment and security. I asked them why they supported the English against us. They assured me of the contrary, and, after much explanation, they promised to make any suggestions I might wish to the Nawab. They added that moreover they were quite sure the English would not attack us, and that I might remain tranquil. Knowing that they were well acquainted with the designs of the English I told them I knew as well as they did what these were, that I saw no way of preventing them from attacking Chandernagore except to hasten the march of the reinforcements which the Nawab had promised, and that as they were disposed to serve us I begged them to make the Nawab understand the same. They replied that the intention of the Nawab was to avoid any rupture with the English, and said many other things the only result of which was to make me see that in spite of their good will they would do nothing for us. Ranjit Rai, who was their man of business as well as the Agent of the English, said to me in a mocking tone 'You are a Frenchman, are you afraid of the English? If they attack you, defend yourselves! No one is ignorant of what your nation has done on the [Coromandel] Coast. We are curious to see how you will get out of this business here.' I told him I did not expect to find such a warlike person in a Bengali merchant, and that sometimes people had reason to repent of their curiosity. That was enough for such a fellow, but I saw clearly that the laughers would not be on my side. However the Seths were very polite and I left the house.

The conduct of the Seths was natural. They had everything to fear from Siraj-uddaula, consequently they needed another Nawab, but the enterprise was difficult without as a preliminary destroying us or at least tying our hands. On the one hand we owed them a great deal of money; it was therefore natural that they should be disquieted at seeing the English march against Chandernagore. For which reason I am much inclined to believe that our enemy made them believe at first that their threats were only to frighten us and to force us to conclude the treaty which they wanted. I remember a somewhat singular incident of this visit which confirms the truth of this idea. The conversation having turned on Siraj-uddaula, on the reasons to fear him which he had given us as well as the Seths, and on his violent character, I said I understood

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clearly enough what they meant, that they certainly wanted to make another Nawab. The Seths instead of denying it contented themselves with saying in a low tone that that was a thing which ought not to be talked about. Omichand, the English Agent, and who by the way cried 'Away with them' wherever he went, was present. If the fact had been false, the Seths would certainly have denied it and would have reproached me for talking in such a way. If the Seths had even thought it was my intention to thwart them, they would also have denied it; but these bankers, considering everything that had happened, the vexations caused us by the Nawab, and our obstinate refusal to help him, imagined that we also should be as satisfied as they were to see him deposed, provided only the English would leave us in peace. The Seths accordingly did not as yet regard us as enemies, and might well be speaking in good faith when they said the English would not attack us. But when hostilities were once commenced what were the Seths to do? To quarrel with the English was to ruin themselves. Was it difficult for the English to make them see their own interest in the capture of Chandernagore, to make them understand that, when the great blow had been struck and the new Nawab enthroned, we might be re-established? What hindered them besides from taking the debt on themselves [the English] if such an arrangement was necessary?

The day after my visit to the Seths, I went early in the morning to he *Durbar* to press for the reinforcements; the Nawab told me to stay with him the whole day, that in the evening I should meet Mr. Watts, the English Chief, and that I should have reason to be satisfied. He also said that a part of the troops was on the march, which was true. I had an opportunity, in spite of Coja Wajid, of acquainting the Nawab with what was hatching against him. I entered into details, but the poor young man began to laugh, being unable to imagine that I could be so silly as to indulge in such ideas. The air of Siraj-uddaula clearly showed he thought in this way, but possibly it was a pretence. He hated the Seths, he must have known their ill-will towards him, that of Jafar Ali Khan, of Khodadad Khan, of Rai Durlabh Ram and of many others. Why then did he not try to anticipate their designs? I see no other reason for this illogical behaviour except the isolation in which he found himself by the sickness of Mohan Lal. He did not know in whom to trust, or rather he wished to appear to trust his enemies in the hope of deceiving them, and of getting an advantage by hoodwinking them till the occasion was favourable for breaking out; but why then betray his design? Why from time to time give way to

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invectives against people whom a uniform conduct, studiously polite, would possibly have brought back to him? The reason is Siraj-ud-daula was not master of his temper; it would have needed as much firmness in his character as there was deceitfulness to make this last quality useful to him. His natural disposition overmastered him at certain times, especially in his harem, when he was surrounded by his wives and servants. Then Siraj-uddaula uttered all that he had in his heart. Sometimes this happened to him in full *Durbar*.

In the evening Mr. Watts appeared. The Nawab told him in my presence that he was not in the humour to allow our two nations to make war in a country under his rule and that he was determined that the neutrality should be preserved as it had always been. Mr. Watts replied he was ready to do whatever the Nawab wished. The Nawab made him report all that had passed regarding the treaty of neutrality on which they had been at work in Calcutta and asked why it had not been effected. Mr. Watts replied that the gentlemen at Chandernagore had not the requisite powers. I maintained this was not the true reason, which was really the arrival of the ships from Bombay, that I could prove from the letters of the English themselves that the negotiation was completed, that the Admiral had promised to sign the treaty, and that he was too prudent to engage himself to sign a treaty with persons whose powers he had not previously recognised. The Nawab interrupted me and proposed to draw up a paper in which I would promise in the name of my nation that the treaty of neutrality would be ratified at Pondicherry. I agreed. Then he told Mr. Watts to draw up a paper promising that we should not be attacked from now up to a fixed date, within which time the ratification might be obtained. Mr. Watts appeared to consent, but as I knew that time pressed, that their only object was to prevent the reinforcements from starting, I asked Mr. Watts if he could assure the Nawab that the Admiral would be bound by the promise he was about to give. He replied that he could not answer for what the Admiral would do. The Nawab immediately said he would write to him. I represented that the Admiral would certainly not pay more attention to this letter than to the preceding ones. 'What!' said the Nawab, looking angrily at me instead of at Mr. Watts, 'who then am I?' All the members of the Court, speaking together, asserted that all possible regard would certainly be paid to his orders. At last it was decided that without forcing us, Mr. Watts and myself, to draw up a paper, the Nawab would content himself with writing in strong terms to the Admiral,

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and with sending some one to assist at the negotiations in progress between the two nations. As we left the *Durbar* Mr. Watts told me it was the first time the Nawab had spoken to him so firmly in reference to the troubles in question. I was much inclined to believe him. In fact the Nawab feared the English too much not to be careful of what he said in their presence.

This conference took place four or five days before the commencement of the siege; I continued my efforts but in vain. The Nawab always replied that we must wait for the Admiral's reply. At last on the 14th of March Chandernagore was attacked and I received the news on the 15th. A part of the reinforcements was on the march, the commandant waited only for his final orders. I hastened to the Nawab to get them given him. He assured me he would give them that very evening; however they were put off till the next day upon various pretexts.

The night of the 15th to 16th at midnight the Nawab sent me his chief eunuch to give me the happy news that the English had been repulsed with considerable loss, that the commander of their *sepoys* had been killed and several of their European officers. False news, but I did not care to appear to doubt them. When I appeared in the *Durbar* the next morning the Nawab flattered himself that all was finished. The commander of the troops was immediately summoned. Orders were given him to be ready to march that very day. At the same time the Nawab sent messengers to Mr. Bussy, which I did also on my own account.

I knew several vessels had been sunk in the narrow channel below Chandernagore, so that, supposing it to be completely blocked, I thought there was nothing to be feared from the enemy's ships. On the land side also I thought the Fort was in a condition to defend itself for a long time. Everything appeared to me to be to our advantage, if only the Nawab's army would act. For this purpose I intended to send with it all the men whom I had at Cossimbazar, reinforced by about 30 soldiers, black and white, whom I expected from Dacca. In the evening I learn in the *Durbar* that every thing is changed. News had arrived that we had withdrawn our outposts, that the town of Chandernagore was in the power of the English, that we had sent back to Hugli the 2,000 men whom the Nawab had left with M. Renault on his first request, and that in consequence all was lost. The English had gained over Nand Kumar, *Faujdar* of Hugli, who wrote to the Nawab any thing they thought proper to dictate to him. The town was really in

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the power of the enemy, but the Fort might still hold out for a long time.

The Seths and several of the *diwans*, who had been consulted on the change, had represented that it would not be proper to send any reinforcements, that the English, who had made themselves masters of the town in so short a time, would be masters of the Fort in less than two days, and would then come and attack the Nawab in Murshidabad itself, and that it was the part of prudence not to irritate them, on which the order was given to Rai Durlabh Ram not to start. They even brought back all the troops which had marched out as well as the artillery which had already advanced a long distance.

However I continue my efforts. Every thing is useless in spite of the good news which I take care to give the Nawab. I represented to him that it was the best opportunity possible for him to attack his enemies, that he could see clearly that our Fort was in a position to hold out, but that the small number of defenders would at last be wearied out and forced to surrender. Believing the channel completely blocked, I assured him the ships of war could not ascend the river. Colonel Clive was well assured of the contrary. Being quite certain that the Fort could not hold out against the fire of the ships he was in no hurry to sacrifice his men, whom he could not replace and whom he needed for the execution of his projects.

Meanwhile the Nawab is informed by his own spies that the English batteries have not damaged the Fort. He recovers courage and gives fresh orders for the departure of the troops, who begin their march, commanded by Rai Durlabh Ram and Mir Madan. I had already given them both some money in hand and I had also given Rai Durlabh Ram a promissory note for 25,000 rupees with which he appeared well contented, and another of 15,000 rupees, which was to be paid him before Chandernagore, and which I counted on paying from the sum which the Nawab had promised me the day of my first visit but which I had not yet been able to get hold of, either owing to the unwillingness of the Nawab himself or more probably to the intrigues of the Seths. Accordingly I now pressed this matter still more strongly and the Nawab actually gave me his order: in spite of which nothing was paid me. It was Rai Durlabh Ram himself who ought to have counted out the two *lakhs* to me. He was setting out in a state of utter bewilderment at being sent on this expedition and was frightened at the idea of finding himself under the fire of the English. I could get nothing. Possibly he intended to keep the whole sum if the expedition

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was successful, and if not to get credit with the Nawab for having saved him so much money.

The idea which I had that the ships could not go up made me hope the reinforcement would still arrive in time. However, hardly had Rai Durlabh Ram made ten or twelve miles when the Nawab learned that the Fort had surrendered. I maintained that the news was false; it was only too true. In spite of a most vigorous defence, it had been necessary to give in to the terrible fire of the ships. Rai Durlabh Ram sent me back the few Europeans whom I had given him and pursued his road for thirty miles further down to stop the English in case they attempted to come up.

It was said at the time that it was not absolutely certain that if Rai Durlabh Ram had arrived at Chandernagore he would have taken our part. This doubt was based upon several letters from the Nawab who, always wishing to humour the English, wrote to the Admiral and the Colonel that he was sending some of his people to examine into the quarrel and to make peace. He also ordered various persons to write privately that Rai Durlabh Ram was to join the English if peace were not made, so as to more completely hide his plans. The truth is that Rai Durlabh Ram was ordered to see, before attacking the English, if there was no way of persuading them to raise the siege. I know this because, being in conference with the Nawab and Rai Durlabh Ram as to the way in which he was to act, I said it would be well to make a diversion on the side of Calcutta, and my idea was not judged to be a good one. The Nawab and Rai Durlabh Ram said it would be better to march straight on Chandernagore and place the English between two fires. This was certainly the better plan if they wanted to fight, but I saw clearly that they wished to parley with the English before attacking them. It is, however, none the less certain, supposing even that the orders given in my presence ought to be counted for nothing, it is certain, I say, that the Nawab, wishing to revenge himself on the English, would have been charmed to beat them and that he ought consequently to have given the strictest orders to attack them as soon as he had seen that we were in a condition to support him. To tell the truth I did not count very much on Rai Durlabh Ram, I had even warned the Nawab against him, and he had consequently given special orders to Mir Madan, a capable officer who would have attacked the enemy with pleasure. The Nawab ought also to have gone himself with further reinforcements. I stayed at Cassimbazar to urge him to do so and to accompany him.

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The same day that I received the news of the capture of Chandernagore I intercepted a packet from the commander of the English army to Mr. Watts.[1] It had been forwarded I believe the day before the attack by the ships. Mr. Clive said he was surprised at the march of Rai Durlabh Ram, and that some one had written to say he [Rai Durlabh] was coming to join him. This packet contained several letters of which one was to Rai Durlabh Ram himself. Here is the translation as nearly as I can remember :—

'I hear you are coming in this direction. I don't know with what object; if it is to join me I am very glad to tell you that I have no need of your assistance. I am in a condition to beat the French if they were ten times as strong, so you will do well to go back or remain where you are. If you advance I will send troops to fight you. Your defeat will not save Chandernagore.'

An officer of the [English] army writing to one of his friends at Cossimbazar said, 'You can rely on it that ten days after the capture of Chandernagore we shall have the pleasure of rejoining you.' This I believe refers to the great plot which was being planned, but the English did not expect the little *contretemps* which occurred.

Some officers and soldiers, escaped from Chandernagore, come to the Factory at Cossimbazar. Efforts of the English to have us made prisoners. We are obliged to leave Cossimbazar.

Our regrets for the fate of Chandernagore were useless; we had to think of ourselves. I warned the Nawab of the danger to which our Factory at Cossimbazar was exposed and begged him to take it under his protection. The detachment I expected from Dacca had not yet arrived. I had with me only ten or twelve Europeans and some *topasses* to protect a Factory open on all sides, having nothing but a simple boundary wall without ditches, towers or bastions. I laboured for some days to construct two earthworks to put us in safety against a surprise. I took into my service some country musketeers, but in spite of this we were not in a position to defend ourselves even against the English who were in Cossimbazar had they judged proper to attack us. The Nawab sent me a *jamadar* with a hundred musketeers to guard the Factory and one of his flags to put over the gate as I had asked him to do. He sent me word to fear nothing, that he would support me with all his forces. Moreover, having learned two days later that the

[1] Mr. Watts having made a complaint, I sent the packet to the Nawab. (Law.)

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English had sent a detachment towards Cossimbazar, he sent me word to go and join his army which was on the road between Hugli and Murshidabad. But this detachment was not marching against the Nawab. This is the reason why it was sent. I did not know it at the time.

At the moment when it was resolved to surrender the Fort of Chandernagore, some of the officers, volunteers and others, followed by one hundred and twenty soldiers, several of whom were deserters from the English, had got out and, running helter-skelter by byways known only to themselves, had had the good fortune to get some distance away in spite of the shots fired at them from the different outposts. Colonel Clive strongly suspecting that their design was to go to Cossimbazar sent a detachment in pursuit. Some were caught, others despairing of the possibility of escape returned of themselves to Chandernagore, but the greater number gained the *rendezvous*, which was at two or three leagues from Chandernagore above Hugli. They still numbered at the least eighty officers and soldiers. Finding themselves always pursued they had to make forced marches. Some lost their way, others overcome with fatigue rested on the road and were taken. However at the moment when I least expected it, I had the satisfaction of seeing the officers and many of the soldiers arrive in small bands of five or six, more or less, but all naked and so wearied that they could hardly stand. Many were without arms. I did all that was in my power to relieve them.

Chandernagore was taken on the 23rd March. At the end of the same month I counted sixty Europeans in the garrison, of whom the half, in truth, were not fit to serve, but what matter? That number was worth one hundred and twenty outside, for every thing is exaggerated by rumour. Besides our *sepoys* had also found means to escape. About thirty of them had come to me. All this did not please the English at Cossimbazar. Soon I had nothing to fear from them. It was their turn. Being informed that there were still some Frenchmen on the roads, they enlisted country musketeers, made every effort to corrupt our soldiers, and solicited the *Durbar* so strongly with promises and threats that I received positive orders to undertake nothing against them. The Nawab, who was ruled by his fears in a way which it is impossible to express, sent one of his officers to remain with us, who with the hundred men he had given us were so many spies set over us to prevent our doing anything; on the other hand the English detachment which had pursued our fugitives as far as Nadiya having retraced its steps, the Nawab tried hard to persuade himself that the English

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had no wish to trouble him; accordingly he showed no signs of discontent at what had happened, and there was no further talk of sending our troop to join the army.

I had for a long time been asking for money. I was put off from day to day. Now there was no further question of giving me any. I was told I should not have it. Further, at the solicitation of my enemies, the Nawab sent people to pull down the earthworks I had erected; he even wished the native agent of the English to be present. I have never in my life suffered what I did that day. To the orders of the Nawab I replied that as long as I was in the Factory no foreigner should touch my fortifications; that to keep terms with the Nawab I was resolved to withdraw and to make over the Factory to him, with which he could afterwards do as he liked and for which I should hold him responsible. At the same time I put my whole force under arms. For several days I had had carts on which my munitions were loaded. I prepared to depart with the small amount of money which belonged to me and to a few other individuals.

The Nawab's man seeing my resolution and fearing he might do something which might not be approved, postponed the execution of his orders, and informed the Nawab of what was happening. He replied that he absolutely forebade my leaving the Factory and gave orders to send away the pioneers; but at the same time he informed me that it was absolutely necessary for me to pull down these earthworks, that under present circumstances he had to do many things against his wishes, that in refusing to obey I should draw the English upon him as well as upon ourselves, that as we could not defend ourselves we must submit, that I should not be troubled any more, and that, finally, he would give me money enough to build in brick what I had wished to make of earth. I knew well the value of these promises from the Nawab, but I was forced to humour him. To abandon the Factory altogether did not suit me, so I set my workmen to pull down what I had built. The same night all was pulled down.

The idea of the English was doubtless to make us so defenceless that we should be obliged to surrender as soon as they attacked us. They had already received a reintorcement of 25 soldiers and many trained *sepoys*. But the object to which they devoted themselves most was to corrupt our soldiers. To prevent this I tried to keep our men always in the Factory. I had bread, rice, meat and arrack, in short every thing necessary, distributed to them, but what way was there to keep shut up in such a weak place a body of soldiers who had just escaped from a

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siege and many of whom were deserters from the English? They knew as well as I what was passing; they knew the want of firmness, or rather the cowardice, of the Nawab; it was easy to persuade them that they were to be sacrificed and handed over to the English; and from time to time, in spite of all the officers' precautions, there reached them letters written by the enemy to frighten them. Several of our soldiers jumped over the wall and withdrew to places where they thought they would be in greater safety. As the number of the *sepoys* increased I established guard-houses in the village, after which I gave the soldiers some liberty. By the good conduct and attention of the officers we succeeded in calming their disturbed minds. We surprised a few spies who were punished on the spot. The distribution of letters was put a stop to.

The English however strongly solicited the Nawab to force us to surrender. They based their demand on the treaty of Calcutta [in which] their enemies were described as those of the Nawab, consequently it was his duty to attack us and to make us over to them as prisoners. This was not in any way the intention of the Nawab. He was not sufficiently fond of the English. He feared them greatly and wished to preserve us so as to keep them in check, but of what folly is not such a weak mind capable? The redoubled threats of the English supported by the representations of the Seths, brought about what I had never expected. I was never more surprised in my life than when, instead of seeing any result from the fine promises of the Nawab, I received his orders to leave the country quickly unless I preferred to surrender to the English. I replied I was ready to obey provided I was furnished with passports and money. I was told I should have neither and that I must go. They asked what direction I would take. I said I would go to Patna and from there wherever Providence might conduct me.

This order was given me on the 7th April and the next day I received passports but no money; the Nawab simply sent me word to go to a *jagir* named Phulbari, in the neighbourhood of Patna, where I should be provided with what I needed. I was allowed four or five days to make my preparations.

I profited by this interval to persuade the only man who dared speak for us to get to action. This was the Nazir Dalal, a man of no importance, but in whom the Nawab seemed to have some confidence. As he was constantly at the Factory I had opportunities of telling him many things particularly interesting to the Nawab, and, by means of politeness accompanied by presents, I believed I had brought him over

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to my interests. I learned however, a little after, that he got at least as much from the English as from us. He told the Nawab all that he learned from me, the plans of the English and of the Seths, and the risks he ran, and brought to his notice that the English steadily increased their garrison in Cossimbazar, bringing up their soldiers in the disguise of deserters who wished to pass over to the French. By this means indeed many soldiers had passed through the Moorish camp without being stopped. There was also talk of an English fleet preparing to come up and waiting only for the Nawab's permission. The Nazir Dalal represented to him that the boats might be loaded with munitions of war and that they ought to be strictly searched and the casks and barrels opened as guns and mortars might be concealed in them. At communications of this kind the Nawab opened his eyes and promptly sent the Nazir Dalal to tell me not to leave. This order came on the 10th. Our garrison passed in review before the Nawab's man. The statement showing the monthly appointments of each officer and the pay of the soldiers was carried to the Nawab, who promised to pay them.

On the 12th April in the evening the Nazir Dalal informed me the Nawab wished to speak to me. I had heard that day that Mr. Watts had gone to see the Nawab in consequence of letters he had received from the Admiral. I feared that some annoying change had taken place. The Nazir Dalal, who quickly saw that I suspected something, assured me there was nothing unfavourable to us. Perhaps he did not know it, nor what was the matter in question. I replied that as I had not offended the Nawab I should present myself before him without fear, but that knowing the influence of my enemies in the *Durbar*, I did not know whether the Nawab would be sufficiently strong to oppose their evil designs. He swore to me by God and the Prophet that nothing should happen to me.

After some reflection I determined to obey. I thought that by taking some presents with me I should be able to obviate the inconveniences I feared. The 13th early in the morning I was to start accompanied by five or six persons well armed. A slight rain delayed us till 10 o'clock. On leaving I told my people that M. Sinfray was their commandant, and ordered him, if I did not return before two o'clock, to send a detachment of forty men to meet me. We arrived at the Nawab's palace about mid-day. He had retired to his harem. We were taken into the audience hall where they brought us a very bad dinner. The Nawab, they said, would soon come, however 5 o'clock had struck and he had not yet dressed. In this wearisome interval I was visited by some of the *diwans*, among

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others by the *Arzbegi*. I asked him why the Nawab had called me. He replied with an appearance of sincerity that the Nawab, as he was constantly receiving complaints from the English about the numerous garrison we had in our Factory, had judged proper to summon us both, Mr. Watts and myself, to reconcile us, that he hoped to arrange affairs so that the English might have nothing to fear from us, nor we from the English. He added that the Nawab was quite satisfied with my behaviour and wished me much good. At last the *Durbar* hour arrives, I am summoned, I pass into a hall where I find Mr. Watts accompanied by a number of *diwans*. The Agent of the Seths was present. Compliments having been paid, one of the *diwans* asks me if I have any thing particular to say to Mr. Watts. I answer that I have not. Thereupon Mr. Watts addresses me in English: 'The question is, Sir, whether you will resolve to hand over your Factory to me and go down to Calcutta with all your people. You will be well treated and will obtain the same terms as the gentlemen of Chandernagore; this is the Nawab's wish.' I replied I would do nothing of the kind, that I and all those with me were free, that if I was forced to leave Cossimbazar I would surrender the Factory to the Nawab and to no one else. Mr. Watts turning round to the chief *diwans* said excitedly that it was impossible to do any thing with me, and repeated to them word for word what had passed between us.

I saw clearly from this moment that the atmosphere of the Court was not healthy for us. However it was necessary to put a good face on it. The *Arzbegi* and some others taking me aside said I was acting inconsiderately in refusing Mr. Watts's propositions, and that the Nawab, being determined to maintain a good understanding with the English, would force me to accept them. They asked me what I intended to do. I told them it was my intention to stay at Cossimbazar and to oppose as much as I could the ambitious designs of the English. 'Well, well, what can you do?' they replied. 'You are only about a hundred Europeans; the Nawab has no need of you; you will certainly be forced to leave this place. It would be much better to accept the terms offered you by Mr. Watts.' The same persons who had begged me to do this took Mr. Watts aside. I do not know what they said to each other, but a quarter of an hour after they went into another hall where the Nawab was.

I was in the greatest impatience to know the result of all these parleyings, so much the more so as, from some words that had escaped them, I had reason to think they intended to make me a prisoner.

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Five or six minutes after Mr. Watts had gone to the Nawab, the *Arzbegi* accompanied by some *jamadars* and the Agents of the Seths and the English, came to tell me aloud in the presence of some fifty Moors of rank that the Nawab ordered me to submit myself entirely to what Mr. Watts demanded. I told him I would not, that it was impossible that the Nawab had given such an order. I demanded to be presented to him. The Nawab, they said, does not wish to see you. I replied, 'It was he who summoned me, I will not go away till I have seen him.' The *Arzbegi* saw I did not intend to give way and that I was well supported, for at that very moment word was brought of the arrival of our grenadiers who had orders to come and meet me. Tired of waiting for me to come out, they had advanced to the very gates of the palace. The *Arzbegi* not knowing what would be the result of this affair, thought he could get out of the scrape by throwing the burden of it on the Seths' Agent and said to him, 'Do you speak, then; this business concerns you more than us.' The Seths' Agent began to say something, but I did not give him time. I said I would not listen to him, that I did not recognise him as having any authority, and that I had no business at all with him. Thereupon the *Arzbegi* and he went back to the Nawab and told him I would not listen to reason and that I demanded to speak to him. 'Well, let him come,' said the Nawab 'but he must come alone.' At the same time he asked Mr. Watts to withdraw and wait for him in a cabinet. The order to appear being given me, I wished to advance; another difficulty, the officers with me do not wish to let me go. A great debate between them and the Nawab's officers. At last, by force of entreaty and by assuring them I had nothing to fear, I persuaded them to be calm and allow me to go.

I presented myself before the Nawab who returned my salute very kindly. As soon as I was seated he told me in a very disconcerted manner that either I must accept Mr. Watts's proposals or that I had no other course to take except to leave his territories. '*Your nation is the cause*,' he said, '*of all the importunities I now suffer from the English. I do not wish to embroil the whole country for your sake. You are not strong enough to defend yourselves, you must give way. You ought to remember that when I had need of your assistance you always refused it. You ought not to expect it from me now.*'

It must be confessed that after our behaviour to him I had not much to say in reply, but, as I noticed that the Nawab kept his eyes cast down that it was as it were against his will that he paid me such a compliment, I told him I should be dishonoured if I accepted Mr. Watts's

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proposals; however as he was absolutely determined to expel us from his country I was ready to withdraw, and that having the necessary passports for Patna I would go in that direction. Every body except the Nawab and Coja Wajid cried out together, as if in concert, that I must not take that road, that the Nawab would not consent to it. I asked what road they wished me to take. They told me to go to Midnapur or Cuttack. I answered that the English might at any moment march in that direction and fall upon me. They answered I must get out of the business as best I could. The Nawab however kept his face bent down, and listened attentively but said nothing. Wishing to force him to speak I asked if it was his intention to place me in the hands of my enemies? 'No, no,' the Nawab replied, 'take what road you like and may God conduct you.' I stood up to thank him, received the *betel* and went out.[1]

I betook myself quickly to the Factory and made my arrangements for starting. On the 15th of the month I reviewed my force. The Nazir Dalal was present. In taking leave of him I told him I was leaving M. Bugros in my place and that I held the Nawab responsible for any thing that might happen to the Factory and its dependencies. I gave orders and instructions to M. Bugros, and my baggage having gone ahead, I started after it at 7 p.m.

The troop goes to Patna. The English form in Murshidabad a faction against the Nawab. Battle of Plassey. Mir Jafar Ali Khan is made Subahdar. *Death of Siraj-uddaula. The troop is forced to leave the dependencies of Bengal.*

On the 16th April we started in real earnest and marched right through Murshidabad, not without fear of being attacked either by or against the Nawab's orders. With a man like him it was impossible to know what to expect. We encamped in a deserted garden four miles higher up [the river]. From thence up to the 2nd May when we arrived at Bhagulpur, a town situated about one hundred and twenty miles from Murshidabad, nothing extraordinary happened except that we were joined by forty-five men, mostly sailors of the ship *Saint Contest*. This junction was effected most successfully by the activity and good conduct of M. Jobard, an officer whom I sent to meet these sailors; but we had the most extraordinary proofs of the Nawab's

[1] In the *Seir Mutaqherin*, Section VIII., Law's parting words are given as follows:—'Send for me again? Rest assured, my Lord Nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other. Remember my words. We shall never meet again. It is nearly impossible.'

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vacillation. When I halted anywhere he sent to ask me why I did not go on, and when I was on the march, was always writing that I went too fast. To satisfy him we should have been always in motion and yet not advancing; this did not suit us. It was of the utmost importance to arrive at some place where I could find means to equip my troop. We were in want of everything.

The 2nd May as I was passing Bhagulpur I received an order from the Nawab to stop and wait for a *parwana* in which his wishes were explained. In fact the next day the chief of the *chotabardars*, accompanied by about one hundred mounted scouts, handed me this *parwana*. The Nawab ordered me to return at once to Murshidabad to join him and attack the English. Having received no news from Cossimbazar, where I had left M. Bugros, the idea suggested itself to me that there might be some treachery in this. Besides I had hardly enough money to provide my troop with food[1] as far as Patna. It was not prudent to retrace my steps, especially by land, without being certain of the Nawab's real intentions. I determined therefore to wait and to send M. Sinfray to the Nawab, and charged him to make careful enquiries and to inform me of everything that might happen. M. Sinfray left Champanagar on the 5th. We had made two halts there. I wrote to the Nawab that I was ready to join him but I needed money to pay my troop.

The 6th May, very early in the morning, I received a second *parwana* which ordered me not to come to Murshidabad, but to remain at Rajmehal where there was a Fort and troops. As I had still no news from Cossimbazar the Nawab's letter only increased my suspicions and to put us in safety I determined to approach still nearer to Patna, and to pass the Fort of Monghyr, where we arrived on the 7th.

It was there at last that by several letters I learned the details of what had happened since our departure from Cossimbazar. The Nawab had received furious letters from the English commanders for the ease with which he had let us go. They maintained that the Nawab had broken his word and threatened him with the most dreadful vengeance if he did not send in haste after us. The Nawab was frightened and was twenty times on the point of doing so. This was probably the reason of the letters which at one time asked why I was marching and at others why I did not march.

The English however sent up many boats in which instead of merchandise the spies of the Nawab reported there were munitions of all kinds, destined, without doubt, for the Fort of Cossimbazar, all well

[1] I had only 6,000 rupees when I left Cossimbazar. (Law.)

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hidden under sacks of pepper and other seeds. This news, so far as I know, was not without foundation and deserved serious attention. The Nawab issued orders to stop the boats. On the other hand the English, instigated by the Seths, worried him ceaselessly with a thousand extravagant demands, based as they said on the treaty of Calcutta. Trifles which had been carried away at the capture of Cossimbazar or Calcutta were reclaimed as articles worth several thousands of rupees.

What appears most singular in this whole business is that the Nawab should not have been able to grant all the demands of the English, even when he was inclined to do so. The Seths opposed his doing so, keeping in mind their grand project, the destruction of the Nawab himself. They would have been in despair if the English, entirely satisfied, had been able to persuade themselves that the Nawab was acting honestly towards them. So when the Nawab consulted them on all these demands, they invariably answered with expressions of the most lively indignation. They omitted nothing which might excite him more and more against the English.

This duplicity of the Seths was sometimes difficult to conceal. There were critical moments. Among others, in reference to certain demands it was necessary to show the Nawab a paper with the Seths' seal to prove to him that he had agreed to grant them. The Nawab in a rage declared that it had never been his intention to engage himself so far, and accused the Seths of having betrayed him. The latter frightened at the storm threw the whole fault on their Agent. The notorious Ranjit Rai was driven in disgrace from the *Durbar*, banished, and assassinated on the road.[1] It was said he had received two *lakhs* from the English to apply his masters' seal unknown to them. I can hardly believe this, this Agent was attached to the English only because he knew the Seths were devoted to them.

Whatever the truth may have been, the Nawab enraged at the way in which he was treated, ordered out his tents and resolved not to humour the English any further. He determined to recall us. But as every thing was not yet ready for the execution of the great plot the English and the Seths thought proper to soothe the Nawab's irritation for a time as he, having us within reach, might make arrangements prejudicial to their interests. Consequently, under pretence of preserving the tranquillity of the Province and of showing the Nawab how favourably they were disposed to him, the English even told him they

[1] The last statement is a mistake, as Ranjit Rai was alive, and in Murshidabad, when Clive arrived there.

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had given up the idea of fortifying their Factory at Cossimbazar, and increasing its garrison, and even of asking the Nawab to hand over all the French to them if he would only insist on their going far away, would disband his army at Plassey and restore their natural course to the channels of the Ganges by pulling down the dykes which he had had erected.

It was to this succession of contradictory events that I owed the letters which the Nawab wrote me; the first, as I have said, ordering me to join him, and the second to stay at Rajmehal. A third which I received at Monghyr ordered me to Bhagulpur, and finally the last for the perfect satisfaction of the English ordered me to go to Patna. To console me for this disappointment I had some 20,000 rupees which the Nawab allowed me to draw on Rajmehal and Bhagulpur.

I then determined to go as quickly as possible to Patna, partly because the rainy season was approaching and partly because I needed time to equip my troop, to provide ammunition, and to put my arms and especially my artillery in order, for owing to our want of gun-carriages we had our guns on country carts.

We arrived at Patna on the 3rd June and were received with every appearance of friendship by Ramnarain, Governor of the Province. We were given, by Siraj-uddaula's orders, a very agreeable site to build our barracks. At last we had time to breathe. I flattered myself that in the event of any thing new happening the Nawab would be careful to let me know in time. The overflowing of the rivers already began to be felt. I needed only four or five days to go by water from Patna to Sooty, and from thence by land two days to go to Murshidabad. I did not expect winds as violent and contrary as those we had.

However M. Sinfray had not yet managed to obtain an audience with the Nawab, who feared lest in granting it he should excite the jealousy of the English. He wished to humour them, thinking they were acting in good faith, but he ought to have known himself and to have judged others by what was going on in his own heart. He was a trickster and recognised as such by the English; he had to do with people still more skilful in trickery. [He should consequently have been always on his guard.][1]

The English as I have said had assured the Nawab they were satisfied. They had recalled their troops from Cossimbazar to Calcutta. The Nawab on his side disbanded the army which had been encamped at Plassey.

To deceive the Nawab more completely and lull him into a false

[1] British Museum Additional MS., 20,914.

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security, the English went so far as to give him to understand that for his complete satisfaction and for the tranquillity of his Provinces, they felt themselves disposed to allow the French to re-establish themselves at Chandernagore if they would only keep quiet. At least it must be believed that the Agents of the English spoke in this fashion. I judge so from something of the kind which the Nawab said to M. Sinfray on the 8th June, the day of his first visit. Siraj-uddaula had not the least suspicion and even did not wish to have any, for this [suspicion] troubled a tranquillity for which he had so long sighed, and which he had enjoyed for a few days only. But at the very time they were talking like this at Murshidabad, the English were thinking only how to ruin the Nawab and carry out their great project. The Nawab had so little suspicion that I received from him on the 19th June a letter dated the 10th in which, after having assured me of his favourable disposition towards us, he ordered me to remain at Patna and not to be disquieted about him in any way.[1] This letter ought to have reached me four days earlier: I complained of this delay in the strongest terms to Ramnarain who received the packets from the Nawab, but it was quite useless. The Nawab was betrayed by those whom he thought most attached to him; the *Faujdar* of Rajmehal[2] used to stop all his *pattamars* and detain them as long as he thought fit.

The greatest difficulty which had presented itself to the English and the Seths in their common plan, was the choice of a person to fill the place of Siraj-uddaula. The *Faujdar* of Cuttack had been spoken of for a long time, also one of the sons of the late Nawab of Purneah, the sons of Sarfaraz Khan, lastly Khodadadkhan[3] whom the Seths had brought from I know not what part of India for their own security. But no one of these personnages was quite suitable. The choice of any one of them would have excited too much jealousy and originated fresh troubles. Possibly indeed the plot would have never been executed if the unlucky star of Siraj-uddaula, or rather his violent character and want of consideration towards those who alone could support him, had not produced the person in whose favour he was to be sacrificed. I mean Mir Jafar Ali Khan, a near relation of Siraj-ud-daula by his wife, and well known to the Europeans, especially since the affair of the Ostend Company in 1744.[4]

[1] I would not like to swear that this letter was not forged by one of the Nawab's secretaries, who had been gained over by the English. (Law.)

[2] Mir Daud Khan, brother of Mir Jafar Ali.

[3] Better known as Khoda Yar Lutf Khan.

[4] This should be 1733-4, when the Ostend Company's officers were driven from Bankibazar by Mir Jafar after a most gallant defence.

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This Mir Jafar Ali Khan had been for many years *Bakshi* or Generalissimo of the army. He had enjoyed the particular confidence of Aliverdikhan, who, on his deathbed, had recommended Siraj-uddaula to him and made him swear on the Koran never to abandon him. I am certain he intended to keep his word.

Mir Jafar had always passed for a brave and scrupulously upright man. Without his support Siraj-uddaula would never have been Nawab. He alone kept him on his throne. He ought therefore to have had the greatest respect for this general. But for this he must have changed his haughty disposition. Impatient of all restraint and of all those whose rank gave them the right to make representations to him, the grossest and most cutting insults cost him nothing. Mir Jafar, the favourite of Aliverdikhan, had much trouble in accustoming himself to ill-treatment. He was only restrained by the respect due to the memory of his former master and by the remembrance of the oath he had taken. At last however he was urged beyond his patience. Siraj-uddaula, by I know not what caprice (I believe Raja Mohan Lal[1] had something to do with it) after having addressed to Mir Jafar Ali Khan the most insulting epithets in full *Durbar* deprived him of his office of *Bakshi*. Mir Jafar outraged by the manner in which he had been treated accepted the proposals which had already been made to him several times by the Seths and entered into a treaty with Mr. Watts. Mir Jafar was loved by the people; he had with him almost all the great officers of the army, to whom also there were heavy arrears of pay due from Siraj-uddaula.

The treaty having been concluded and signed on both sides Mir Jafar invited the English to come up to Murshidabad, and sent them as a hostage for good faith his confidant Mirza Omar Beg, who [afterwards] obtained the *Faujdari* of Hugli with a *lakh* of rupees. Mr. Watts for his part decamped one fine night with the few people who remained at Cossimbazar. It was, I think, on the 12th June. The Nawab soon heard of it. He was thrown into the greatest perplexity by the news. He had disbanded half of his troops without having paid them, and he was involved in a quarrel with Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh Ram on the eve of having the English upon him. What was he to do in this extremity? Siraj-uddaula, instead of recognising that he had been betrayed, recon-

[1] It was after Mohan Lal had returned to the *Durbar*. This man, I am told, had by the greatest efforts overcome the malignity of the poison administered to him, and was commencing to recover his health, but his mental powers were no longer what they had been. (Law.) See Vol. II., p. 410, No. 446.

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ciled himself with Mir Jafar, who to hide his perfidy better swears on the Koran to be faithful, and at once the Nawab is satisfied.

Trickster as he was Siraj-uddaula was not sufficiently so, at least on this occasion. Any man but himself and of a firmer will, would have found means of arresting and imprisoning Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh Ram and the Seths. This blow struck, it is probable the English would not have dared to advance. However that may be the Nawab, as I have said, still had the stupidity to confide in his most implacable enemies. At the same time he wrote me letter after letter to come down as quickly as possible; the bearers, he said were angels. But these angels were traitors who travelled as slowly as they could. The first, who started on the 12th, did not reach me till the 22nd and the others on the 24th. We were already on the way.

On the 20th upon certain rumours which were current in Patna that the English were preparing to march up to Murshidabad, I had written to M. Sinfray my opinion as to what he should do. On the 22nd I replied to the Nawab and begged him to wait for me, as I feared he would engage the enemy at an unsuitable time. But my letters must certainly not have reached him as the affair was decided on the 23rd.

It was in the plain of Plassey, on the banks of the Ganges that this famous battle, which put Bengal and its dependencies so to say in the power of the English, took place. Their memoirs show that without the intervention of a miracle it could only end to their advantage, since the greater part of the Nawab's army was against him. With the exception of some fifty Europeans who were with M. Sinfray and two or three chiefs who commanded bodies of cavalry, all the rest of the army stood with folded arms or only showed they were on the side of Siraj-uddaula by the promptitude with which they took to flight. Fear pervaded the whole army before the action commenced. Every one was persuaded that Siraj-uddaula was betrayed and no one knew whom to trust.

Siraj-uddaula in consternation fled to his capital as quickly as possible. He was the first to bring the news of his defeat, but, recognising that he was not in safety there, he determined to disguise himself and flee towards Rajmehal, doubtless with the intention of joining us.

Meanwhile we were descending the river with all possible diligence without stopping night or day, against an extremely violent wind, which sank many of our boats. The people fortunately were saved. On the 1st July we arrived at Terriagully. A party which formed the advance guard went straight without stopping as far as Rajmehal, where we heard of the revolution which had occurred, the defeat of

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Siraj-uddaula's army, his flight, and his capture which we should probably have prevented if we had been able to arrive two days earlier.[1] If we had saved Siraj-uddaula we should have had something to boast of, but possibly he would have been saved for a short time only. Wherever he might have presented himself in the countries supposed to be subject to him he would have found enemies and traitors. No one would have acknowledged him. Forced by the pursuit of Mir Jafar and the English to fly to a foreign country he would have been a burden to us rather than an advantage.

In India no one dreams of standing by an unfortunate man. The first idea which suggests itself is that of despoiling him of the little which remains to him.[2] Besides, a man of Siraj-uddaula's character could no where find a real friend. Siraj-uddaula took refuge near Rajmehal with a poor man, whose ears, it is said, he had had cut off some time before. This man sent word to the *Faujdar* of the place, who caused him to be arrested on the spot, and sent him under a strong escort to Murshidabad where Miran, the son of Mir Jafar Ali Khan, soon after caused him to be pitilessly murdered in his presence. His bleeding corpse was exposed on an elephant which was led through the principal parts of the town and then buried near his great-uncle Aliverdikhan.

Having been informed of all that had happened, I decided to re-ascend the stream, and remain some days above Patna, where I might receive fresh news. A letter from the *Faujdar* of Rajmehal informed me that the new Nawab, Mir Jafar Ali Khan was disposed to re-establish peace between us and the English. His intention was probably to make me lose time; still it was adviseable to see if there was any thing in it, if it could be done without risking any thing.

On the 16th July we arrived at Dinapur, eight miles above Patna, where I soon saw we had no time to lose. The Raja of Patna of himself would not have troubled us much. By means of our boats we could have avoided him as we pleased. Moreover though our fleet was in a very bad condition, still it could have held its own against the naval forces of Bengal—that is to say, the Indian forces; but the English fleet was advancing, commanded by Major Coote. As the

[1] The Nawab was seized at Rajmehal the 29th or 30th June, according to some people; but I believe it was not till the 1st of July, the very day we arrived at Teriagully, and only a few hours before the arrival of M. Jobard with the advance guard at Rajmehal. (Law.)

[2] This is what happened to Mir Kasim when, driven from Bengal by the English, he took refuge with Shuja-uddaula, Nawab of Oudh.

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English call themselves the masters of the aquatic element, it became us the less to wait for them when we knew they had stronger and more numerous boats than we had. Possibly we could have outsailed them, but we did not wish to give them the pleasure of seeing us flee. On the 18th an order from the Raja of Patna instructed me in the name of Mir Jafar Ali Khan to stop, no doubt to wait for the English, whilst another on his own part advised me to depart. Some small detachments of horsemen pretended to extend themselves along the bank to hinder us from having provisions or to lay violent hands on our rowers. On this we set sail, resolved to quit all the dependencies of Bengal. In spite of ourselves we had to halt at Chupra, twenty-two miles higher up, because our rowers refused to go further; prayers and threats all seemed useless. I thought the English had found some means to gain them over. The boats did not belong to us, but our scruples against seizing them would have been slight if our Europeans had known how to manage them; unfortunately they knew nothing about it. The boats in Bengal have no keel and consequently do not carry sail well. So we had to lose two days discussing the matter. At last by doubling their pay terms were made and five days after [the 25th July] we arrived at Ghazipur, the first place of importance in the provinces of Shuja-ud-daula, Viceroy of the *subahs* of Oudh, Lucknow and Allahabad.

On our road from Chapra to Ghazipur a *chobdar* arrived with letters from Colonel Clive and Mir Jafar. That from the Colonel[1] was such as became a General, who, though an enemy, interested himself in our fate out of humanity, knowing by his own experience into what perils and fatigues we were going to throw ourselves in leaving the European Settlements, but the letter from Mir Jafar Ali Khan, or rather the letter dictated to him, was crushing. In consequence of his treaty with the English, by which we were declared his enemies, he summoned me to surrender myself as a prisoner, otherwise I might expect the inevitable misfortunes which his orders had prepared on my way.

The letter of Mir Jafar ought not to have surprised me, but I had an idea he might write to me in a quite different style, unknown to the English. I knew this new *Subahdar*, whom I had visited at the time I was soliciting assistance to raise the siege of Chandernagore. Mir Jafar had not then taken up the idea of making himself *Subahdar;* he appeared to me a very intelligent man, and much inclined, I say, to do us service, pitying us greatly for having to work with a man so cowardly and so undecided as Siraj-uddaula. For this reason, as soon as I heard the news

[1] See Vol. II., p. 445, No. 496.

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of his accession to the *Subahdari* I thought it adviseable to write to him. I gave him to understand that though I had come down to the assistance of the late Nawab, it was only as a servant of the *Subahdar* and not of the man who by his cowardice had caused our ruin, and that my intention, in every thing I had done, had been to hinder the Provinces from falling into the hands of the English; that, in short, it was for him to judge if we were in a condition to be in any way useful to him. This letter was well calculated to excite in his mind sentiments favourable to us. But if it did, Mir Jafar let none of these appear. The Revolution was too recent and the influence of the English too great for him to risk the least correspondence with us.

Leaving Bengal I am going to conduct you into the country properly called Indostan, and to introduce you to some of the persons with whom we have connections of various kinds.[1]

77. *Translation of extracts from a Manuscript entitled 'Revolutions in Bengal.'*[2]

During a period of nearly two years there have happened certain revolutions in Bengal which it will be a pleasure to me to describe. I am the more determined to this as I count greatly on the indulgence of the reader, who will kindly excuse the small errors which I may make in this task on the ground that I am not, nor ever have been engaged in literary work, and that my zeal to undertake it is my only qualification.

Before entering on the subject, I think it will be proper to give in this place some idea of Bengal; so much the more so as otherwise I should be very often forced in the course of my account to make small digressions for the sake of intelligibility, whilst this will free me from them all at once.

Bengal is a kingdom in Asia, very rich, on the Gulf of the same name, traversed by the Ganges. The natives of the country are *Gentiles* or Muhammadans. It is governed by a Nawab who is dependent on the *Mogul* and who resides at Murshidabad, his capital town. The French, English and Dutch have had Settlements in it for many years. The Danes have been established here for three years. Our chief factory is at Chandernagore, a town or, as one would say, a rather large village, where we have a little Fort provided with four

[1] The remainder of Law's Memoir deals with events which happened later than the period covered by this Selection.

[2] This is a collection of all the gossip of the time. I have noted only a few of the inaccuracies. It is in the British Museum (Add. MS., 20,914) and has no signature

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bastions, thirty leagues from Murshidabad, seven leagues from Calcutta, the capital of the English, one league from Chinsurah capital of the Dutch, and four leagues from Serampur, residence of the Danes. We have, like the English and the Dutch, several small Factories in the interior, as at Jugdea, Dacca, Patna, Cossimbazar &c. This last is a league away from the residence of the Nawab, where commenced the troubles which have been so much the more ruinous to our nation as the commerce which is the most essential to our Company in India has been long absorbed [by it] and our Settlements on the Coast will feel it severely, being deprived of all the commodities which they drew from Bengal, and which in time of war were of great assistance, owing to the long standing difficulty of collecting a sufficient quantity in the Settlement of Pondicherry.

Bengal produces cloths of all kinds, most beautiful muslins, silk raw or worked; opium, and saltpetre. The ground produces in great abundance very fine corn and *nerly*,[1] which are of great value. Thence is obtained also a great quantity of *manteegue*[2] of melted butter, and of lamp oil. The birds are very abundant; ships are easily careened there; every thing necessary for victualling is found, very good beef, excellent mutton and perfect vegetables. I look upon it in fact as the part of India most necessary to the Company.

Considerable fleets are sent to Jedda, Moka, Bassorah, Surat, the Malabar Coast, the Maldives, China, Pegu &c.

The detail of all the productions one meets with in Bengal would take me too long, and I should never finish if I tried to undertake it. I have proposed to give here the history of the revolutions which have happened there, and this is the only object which should occupy me now. I will try to aquit myself of it as well as I can, in reporting all the facts as succinctly as possible. I take up the history from the troubles which commenced in March 1756.

Aliverdikhan who was then Nawab, had usurped the government from Sarfaraz Khan after having assassinated him in 1739. He was more than eighty years old and very sickly. He had been able, though an usurper, to strengthen himself in the government and to make himself loved by the people. He was very fond of Europeans and they all feared the moment of his death because of the disturbances which might then take place. His son Nawajis Muhammad Jang, on whom

[1] i.e., rice in the husk.

[2] Probably from Span. *mantica*, Port. *mantiya*=butter or sugar. *Cf.* also Port. *manteiga de chumbo*=sugar or acetate of lead.

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the authority should have fallen, had just died, and the Nawabship fell naturally to Siraj-uddaula, the nephew and grandson of Aliverdikhan, whose character was known to be headstrong and cruel. At the end of March the old Nawab had a violent attack and his life was despaired of. The standard of revolt was at once raised. Siraj-uddaula, seeing himself on the point of being ruler, seized even during the lifetime of his grandfather upon the immense treasures of the recently made widow of the Little Nawab, Nawajis Muhammad Jang, his uncle. For this object he sought a quarrel with her on various pretexts; his chief was that Mir Nazir Ali, a lord of the Court, had too frequently secret admission to her apartments, which dishonoured the family. Consequently he ordered her to send him his head. She loved Mir Nazir Ali. It was not likely she would subscribe to so barbarous an order. The old Nawab before his death tried everything paternal tenderness could suggest to reconcile them. All the modes of accommodation which he proposed were useless and the *Begum* saw herself forced to make all necessary preparations for defence. For this purpose she raised seven or eight thousand soldiers with whom she shut herself up in the castle of Moti Jhil. This castle is at the gate of and in fact is a part of the town of Murshidabad. It is strong by its size which enables it to contain twenty thousand men, and further its situation is very strong and advantageous being in the middle of a considerable lake, communicating with the shore only by a very narrow strip of land. It was however impossible for her to resist the Nawab, who could have starved her out in a very short time, but she had secret intelligence with the Nawab of Purneah, vassal of Siraj-uddaula, who in the hope of getting possession of the government had promised to come to her assistance with fifteen thousand men.

Aliverdikhan died in the beginning of April and Siraj-uddaula was proclaimed Nawab. The next day he surrounded the castle of Moti Jhil so that nothing could enter; he set fire to the *fourrages*[1] and brought up artillery. In two days the troops in the castle, despairing of the succours which were promised them on the part of the Nawab of Purnea, who, moreover, was not yet on the march, though ten days' journey away, almost all deserted in the night. The *Great Begum*, widow of Aliverdikhan, entered the castle to persuade her daughter to surrender, and assured her Siraj-uddaula wanted neither her life nor her wealth. She agreed to every thing provided her lover, Mir Nazir Ali,

[1] This possibly means the grass growing in the marsh or *jhil* which surrounded the Princess's Castle.

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should have his life and be permitted to leave Bengal. The Nawab agreed and gave him an escort to conduct him to the frontier. The rumour ran that he retired to Delhi, residence of the *Mogul*, where he tried to form a party.

From this moment all was pacified. The generals who had belonged to the party of the *Begum* came and threw themselves at the feet of the Nawab, who took them into his service. The next day he took possession of the castle, made his aunt come out and sent her to his harem with her women, and carried into his Treasury the immense riches which he found in Moti Jhil, and which according to common report mounted to thirty-two *krors* of silver money—i.e. eight hundred millions of our money. This business finished, affairs did not stay quiet for long. Even before the end of April we learnt that Shuja-ud-daula, son of the *Grand Wazir*, had started from Lahore, a province close to Delhi, and was marching with a considerable army to attack Bengal.

Siraj-uddaula sent orders to Raja Ramnarain, Nawab of Patna, to meet him, and dispute with him the passage of the river Paddau [? Caramnassa], until he could join him in person. For this purpose he sent his army into camp a league from the town where he remained several days. He was about to march when he learned that the Pathans had profited by the absence of the *Grand Wazir* to ravage his country, and so had obliged him to retrace his steps. He was informed at the same time that the English had received into their Fort at Calcutta a part of the *Begum's* treasures and that they were working at new fortifications around their town, owing to their fear that this action might draw some bad consequences on them. He sent them orders to stop their works, to fill up their ditches and demolish the new fortifications they had made; if not he threatened to go himself and pull them down. Not wishing to have made preparations for war in vain, he determined to march against the Nawab of Purneah who had promised assistance to the *Begum*, and advanced with fifteen thousand men as far as the mountains of Rajmehal. His generals did not approve of this expedition. The rainy season was commencing and they would have great difficulty in extricating themselves if there were any floods. Accordingly he stopped at the Rajmehal mountains and sent word to his cousin, Saukat Jang, Nawab of Purneah, to come and acknowledge him as his Nawab and master. His intention was to seize and probably to assassinate him. Saukat Jang did not accept his invitation; he sent word he acknowledged him as his master but that the season would not allow him to leave his country. It is believed

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that it was at Rajmehal and from the envoys of Saukat Jang that he was informed that the English were in league with the *Begum* and his cousin Saukat Jang to assassinate him and put another Nawab in his place. Whether this was true or not, it is certain that it was at Rajmehal that the storm which has fallen on the English commenced to gather. We had also some reason to fear, having profited by the first moments of the troubles to finish one of the bastions of our Fort, which had been commenced a long time ago but which we were not allowed to complete.

We were confirmed in our fears when, the 24th May, Mirza . . ., the *Arzbegi*[1] (introducer of ambassadors, and always protector of the European nations) sent word to M. Law, Chief of our Factory, that the Nawab had given orders to surround the three Factories at Cossimbazar, French, English and Dutch. The reader will perhaps be pleased to know the means employed by the Moors to blockade a town and their reasons for doing so, three times out of four. Whenever any of the nations established on the Ganges has given any cause of displeasure to the Nawab, but more often when the Nawab wishes to get some money from them quickly, he sends troops on some trivial pretext to surround their town and to hinder provisions from entering. The people sent by the Nawab, though few in number, do much damage and violence. As a rule they do not attack the principal Factory, *e.g.* Chandernagore where we had a Fort and good guns and where we could assemble a certain number of men, Europeans, Portuguese and black Christians, but they fall on those of Cossimbazar, Dacca and others which are mere houses without any fortifications, interrupt the commerce and oblige them to give one day 20,000 rupees, the next 30, as their caprice dictates. No year passes without the Company having to give the Nawab in this fashion or as a forced present, 150 or 200 thousand francs. This year cost it dear as will be seen further on. On the advice of Mirza . . ., M. Law brought into the Factory at Cossimbazar the few troops we had, which consisted of about thirty European soldiers and as many black. He did the same with rice, corn, wood and all the provisions he could find. We had no reason for very great anxiety, knowing well that the Nawab had no very great grievance against us, but it was not the same with the English. They had not only at Calcutta their chief Factory a strong fortress, but even at Cossimbazar, trusting to their strength,

[1] Elsewhere the *Arz-begi's* name is given as Gholam Ali Khan, but more likely the officer referred to was Mirza Omar Beg, who, however, was not *Arz-begi*.

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they had appeared to think little of the Nawab, had annoyed him on many occasions, sheltered several of his enemies whom they refused to give up, and also received immense wealth belonging to the *Begum* and several private people who had sent it to Calcutta, thinking it would be in safety there. If one adds to this the conspiracy, which according to all appearance they had formed with the *Begum* and the Nawab of Purneah, it will not seem strange that the alarm at this moment was greater for them than for us. Accordingly they prepared seriously to defend themselves, whilst we only thought of getting provisions into our Factory until the Council had settled the business by money according to the usual method. That day, the 24th, passed very quietly for us and the Dutch, but at 5 p.m. Mr. Watts, Chief of the English Factory, informed M. Law that he had three hundred horsemen at the gate of his Fort. He managed in spite of this guard and by giving them some money to get in provisions during the whole night.

The 25th Mirza . . . sent word to M. Law to fear nothing, that it was true the Nawab in his rage had given orders to blockade all the Europeans, but this order no longer affected any one except the English. This news reassured us a little, though the consequences did not appear to us a very pleasing prospect, knowing that the enemies of Siraj-uddaula, in order to involve him in a wrong step had given him to understand that he would be attacked by the four nations at the same time, and it was only his friends who had saved him from it. Could we moreover rely on a man of his character, who when he was drunk, which was often, listened to the advice of no one, and gave himself up to the most violent excesses? He might, if he succeeded in driving out the English, fall upon our Settlement. Our only hope lay in the resistance which the English might be able to offer and which would make him reflect, and so give time for our ships and the reinforcements we expected from Pondicherry to arrive.

The English seemed very calm, not being able to persuade themselves that the Nawab would ever dare to use actual force; they even tried to frighten him by showing themselves very determined to defend themselves, loaded their guns in broad daylight and carried cannon balls and grenades on to the walls. Round their Fort one saw nothing but rammers, sponges and all the apparatus of war.

Their Fort is a square of one hundred and twenty fathoms, flanked by four bastions newly built nine years ago, the *enceinte* in very good brick masonry and mortar of limestone and *chunam*. Each bastion

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was armed with ten guns, three on each face and two on the flanks. They had besides forty-four other guns distributed on the curtains; they had ammunition, 5,000 balls, 1,800 grenades, 12 hundred bombs, 4 mortars, powder and grapeshot more than they could use up in two months; they had one hundred soldiers and Company's servants, and about one hundred and fifty Portuguese and black soldiers: it was certainly quite enough to resist the Moors who have not much knowledge of war and still less courage; at least we thought so, but we thought wrongly as will be seen.[1]

The 31st of the same month at evening there arrived a *jamadar* or Captain with four hundred horsemen, camels, and elephants, who presented himself before the English Fort, into which he wished his troop to enter, and was already at the gate when the guard stops him with fixed bayonets, the Governor presents himself, and, by means of much politeness assisted by five hundred rupees, persuades him to go back a few steps so that the gate can be shut.

The English who now saw that the affair was very serious, had sent *pattamars* or couriers one after the other to Calcutta to demand reinforcements, but all were stopped by the Moors. There being a bad understanding between the two Factories they persuaded themselves that the Council of Calcutta had broken off correspondence and that they could not count on any succour from them.

The evening of the 1st June there arrived a body of four thousand troops, and the English were informed that within two days the Nawab would come in person with all his army composed of ten thousand horsemen and fifteen thousand foot. He appeared indeed on the 2nd June on the other side of the Ganges. In the evening he passed a portion of his army across. The English, who already began to tremble, did not fire their usual evening gun and on the 3rd they hoisted their flag at break of day without beating the *reveillé* or firing a gun. At 10 o'clock they lowered their flag. It was blowing a strong wind and M. Law who perceived it thought it was to relieve their flag staff which was extremely high, but they were asking to capitulate; a signal, which the Moors, knowing little of this custom, did not understand.

The Nawab himself arrived in the plain with a prodigious quantity of elephants, camels, flags, horsemen and footmen. They could be

[1] See Law's remarks on the possibility of defending the Fort (p. 166), and also the opinion of Clive and his officers in reply to Watts's letter of January 28, 1757, in Appendix IV.

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easily seen from our house which is only a short quarter of a league from the English Fort. At this sight the English lost their heads; they had sent several times to the Nawab to make proposals, to which he replied that he would not hear of any thing on their part, and that he was determined to drive them out of his Provinces. They were much disconcerted when they were told from the Nawab that if they did not surrender very quickly an assault would be made. In fact four hundred ladders had been brought up for this purpose. Not knowing now where they were, they sent their surgeon, who knew the country language and who had made the acquaintance of several great personnages during the illness of Aliverdikhan, to the Nawab's *diwan*. The *diwan* persuaded him that the English ought not to flatter themselves they could appease the Nawab except by sending their Governor to implore his pity. The surgeon on his return persuaded Mr. Watts to follow the *diwan's* advice. Their opinions were divided, but he consented to it when he thought of his wife, who was running about in the Fort distracted with terror and weeping in fear that the Moors would make an assault. He set out in the company of the surgeon to go to the Nawab's tent, but when he was at the gate the guard refused to let him pass; his wife ran up with her two children in her arms, one one year old and the other two, and by her tears persuaded the guard to let her husband go out, who as he went said to the people with him that it seemed most probable that he was a lost man, but he exhorted them to defend themselves to the death if he did not return. He went to the camp with the surgeon. The Nawab, who had not been warned of what had happened, when they announced that the English Governor had come to throw himself at his feet, ordered him to be introduced: but our two Englishmen were much disconcerted when, at some steps from the Nawab's tent, they were disarmed and their hands tied. Mr. Watts saw well that he had acted foolishly. He entered the tent weeping and could say nothing to the Nawab except that he was his slave—'*Toumar zholam, toumar zholam.*'[1] This was all his speech. Siraj-uddaula made no reply and sent him to Murshidabad.

This news surprised us greatly. We had never thought the English capable of such cowardice. This business might have bad results not merely for them, but for all the European nations who were in the Ganges [country], whom the Moors, who judge things only superficially, would despise and treat accordingly, as we have since found to be the case. The Nawab next day sent to forbid M. Law to give any assistance

[1] This is the only evidence for this very unlikely story.

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to the English and at the same time forwarded us a *parwana* which gave us possession of Calcutta and all the English Settlements in Bengal on condition we would join him in expelling the English. We were not in a condition to accept these offers, being ignorant of the declaration of war in Europe, and the Ganges besides having always been neutral. We told him that as we were not at war with the English we could not without orders from France declare war against them.

He had the English Chief brought back and proposed to him to sign forty[1] articles if he wished to obtain peace. Mr. Watts asked to see his Council. They sent for the two Councillors who were in the Fort, and who allowed themselves to be taken and brought to the Nawab. They were not in a convenient place to discuss the articles proposed to them and signed blindly on condition simply that the Superior Council at Calcutta should approve of what did not come within their powers. The chief articles were that (1) they would destroy the fortifications in all their Establishments, and fill up their ditches, and make over to the Nawab all their artillery and munitions of war, (2) surrender the wealth of the *Begum*, and that of Raj Balav, (3) give up his son who had taken refuge with them to the Nawab and (4) that they would also pay all the duties on trade or private commerce which they had defrauded him of during the last twenty years, which would have amounted to a sum they could never have paid, for, during the twenty years that the English had been allowed to load four Company's ships without paying duties, there was not a single year in which they had not sent twenty ships from the Ganges, some belonging to the Company and others to private persons.[2] All these articles being signed he sent back the third Councillor and kept with him the Chief Mr. Watts, and the second Mr. Collet. He sent troops into the Fort who at first pillaged every thing that fell into their hands. Afterwards the Nawab's people came to stop the pillaging and put the *chappa* or seal of the Nawab on the doors of all the warehouses.

Mrs. Watts withdrew with her children into her apartments. The Moors, according to the Asiatic custom, did her no harm, and did not dare enter them. As for the men, soldiers and others, every thing they had was plundered.

M. Law sent a request to the Nawab to allow him to bring Mrs. Watts with her children to our Factory, which he willingly granted, and gave

[1] Probably a mistake for 'four.'

[2] The Emperor's *firman* puts no limit to the number of the ships which the English might load.

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her besides her linen and clothes. She also saved her jewels.[1] A part of the English who were in the Fort escaped during the night and the rest were taken to the prison of Murshidabad. The Captain, rather than allow himself to be disarmed and plundered by the Moors, blew out his brains with his pistol; this was all the blood shed at the capture of this Fort which ought to have cost the Moors dear if the English, with the men they had, had made use of their artillery. Siraj-uddaula, master of Cossimbazar, started for Calcutta with all his army. Several *rajas* joined him on the way, which increased the army considerably. Having learned that we stood on the defensive at Chandernagore he sent a *jamadar* to tell us he had no grudge against the French and that we had no cause for fear. He gave orders at the same time that none of his soldiers should pass through our Settlement, and soon arrived at Calcutta.

In considering the behaviour of the English at Cossimbazar we could only think of what would be the fate of that superb Settlement which was infinitely richer than Madras. We knew that the English were well supplied with artillery and munitions; they had besides ten vessels and ships, and expected others every day. Their Fort indeed was not as strong as the one they had just lost, but they had made good entrenchments and advanced works: it was more than enough to stop these blacks who had never made war in European fashion. They were twelve hundred armed men, amongst whom they had eight hundred whites without counting those on the ships.

Three days after the Nawab's passage before Chandernagore, we heard a violent cannonade, which made us believe they had come to blows, but it was from the ships which, seeing soldiers passing along the bank of the Ganges, had fired on them though out of range.[2] This was a bad omen in our opinion, and we had no doubt that they were already in a fright.

The 19th the Nawab arrived before the Fort: the English risked some sorties in which they lost a few people and killed a number of the Moors. This success, far from encouraging the English Governor, determined him to profit by the confusion of the enemy to put in execution the cowardly project which he, the Commandant of the

[1] Mrs. Watts, known later in Calcutta as the Begum Johnson, was fond of talking of her adventures at Cossimbazar, and used to assert that she was saved from the Nawab's harem only by the intercession of his mother on the ground of her being far advanced in pregnancy at the time.

[2] This must refer to the Nawab's *unsuccessful* attempt to force the passage at Perrin's Redoubt, on which occasion the slaughter showed that the Moors were well within gunshot of the ships.

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troops, and the chief men in the Council, had formed to evacuate the Fort. The night of the same day they sent three hundred of the soldiers on board the ships, on which they had embarked immense riches.

The Chief having taken flight, people thought only of themselves; the women embarked on the brigantines and boats which were luckily there in large numbers. The 20th day passed in the same way.

The Moors seeing that several ships had set sail, and that nearly all the English were gone, rushed on the Fort which they entered without the least difficulty. There were still in it about two hundred men, white and black, of whom most were drunk. Some refused to lay down their arms and were cut to pieces on the spot. Others experienced a still more cruel fate. Night was approaching and the Moors wishing to make sure of their prisoners, shut them up hurriedly in a warehouse which caught fire. There were nearly 150 suffocated.[1] In an instant the Settlement was given up to fire and bloodshed. Several private persons who had stayed in their houses, not expecting such cowardice on the part of their Chiefs, were plundered by the Moors, who gave themselves up to all sorts of dreadful acts.

The English lost four hundred men and their Company all it possessed in Bengal. Those at Dacca on learning what had happened in Calcutta, took to flight and passed through the woods[2] to join the rest at the mouth of the Ganges.

The loss of the English both for the Company and private persons, was estimated at 150 *lakhs*, which is 36,500,000 *livres* in our money.

This expedition finished, the Nawab came up to Hugli, a Moorish town a league from Chandernagore to the north. He sent fifty armed men to each barrier of our Settlement and ordered us to pull down our four bastions and our flag staff. He gave the same orders to the Dutch, saying he wanted all the nations to be without forts or flags like the Armenians. On our paying him three *lakhs* and giving one more in presents to various lords of the Court, he left us in peace for the moment. Thus it has cost our Company a million this year. The Dutch, as being richer, payed £1,250,000.

After this operation the Nawab returned to Murshidabad. The success he had gained at Calcutta made him insupportably arrogant. He appeared to despise us, and every day played new tricks upon us; but he has paid well for them, as I shall soon show.

[1] A curious version of the Black Hole business.

[2] i.e., the Sunderbunds.

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The English remained on their vessels at the mouth of the Ganges, and, at the end of August, found themselves number more than 20 [? ships] and were in a condition to try and re-enter Calcutta by force if they had wished to undertake it, but they had received letters from Madras by which prompt reinforcements were promised them, which however did not arrive in the Ganges till the beginning of December. They suffered much misery on board their ships and lost many men. Those who had escaped the massacre at Calcutta and had been taken prisoners at Cossimbazar all came to take refuge under our flag, the Nawab having permitted them to go where they pleased. We clothed them and furnished them with every thing they needed. We even managed to send, to those who were at the mouth of the Ganges, biscuits and meat and all kinds of refreshments, which were of much service to them as they were in the last extremity. We took into our service the English soldiers who presented themselves, and who were for the most part French or German. In short we did for them all that compassion could suggest.

* * * * *

The English squadron, sailing on the 8th October from Madras, arrived in the Ganges on the 12th December to the number of four ships, namely the *Kent* under Admiral Watson of 70 guns, the *Tiger* of 66, the *Salisbury* of 56, and the *Protector* of 40. They came up and anchored at Fulta without stopping, and, a few days after, landed men with some field-guns at Budge Budge and Macwatana to take these two Forts before risking the passage of their ships. They succeeded without much trouble, and though there were more than 3,000 men to defend them, 250 men, who marched against them, mastered them without striking a blow. The Moors fled in great haste to Calcutta, where they did not think it wise to wait for the English, for, after having fired a few shots against the ships as soon as they saw them, they abandoned the place and ran off to shut themselves up in a Moorish Fort four leagues away.[1] The English landed without difficulty, and on the 2nd January retook this superb Settlement which they found much damaged. There were no doors or windows in the houses; the Moors had broken them all up for firewood, and the Government House had been pulled down. They found a great many of their guns and some merchandise which the carelessness of the Moors had prevented them from carrying off.

[1] Probably refers to Hughli, though that town is more than twice this distance from Calcutta.

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During their stay at the mouth of the Ganges they had put all in train for the formation of a party in their favour. The Seths who are the treasurers [bankers] of Bengal were in their interest and were led into the conspiracy by their avarice. The English owed them much money and this was sufficient for souls so vile and interested as are the Moors[1] who are not accustomed to sacrifice any thing to the public good.

The English had no sooner re-entered Calcutta than they embarked artillery, munitions and troops in brigs, boats and in the *Protector*. They ascended the Ganges to lay siege to Hugli, a Moor town belonging to the *Mogul*. We stood on our guard at Chandernagore having received news of the declaration of war in Europe and the English having refused to promise to maintain the neutrality which has always been the rule in the Ganges, under the pretext that their affairs with the Nawab were not yet finished and that they must be sure that their Settlements would remain in their hands before thinking of it. They had however proposed to us to join them, offering to agree to any thing we liked if we would do so. Our alliance would have assured their success in all their undertakings against the Nawab, but they asked us what was impossible and their proposal fell through of itself.

The advantages they had gained up to the capture of Calcutta had so rejoiced us that we had ignored the declaration of war in Europe; in doing so we considered the mortification which the Moors would feel, who, elated by the success they had had before, had become insupportably arrogant, but the news from Bassora joined with the refusal of the English to ratify the neutrality made us look at things with different eyes. We hesitated to commit the first act of hostility in the Ganges, and moreover we could not do so without being authorised by the Superior Council of Pondicherry, to which we were subordinate. We could only put ourselves on the defensive and even that very feebly, as we were in want of both money and men.

M. Renault, Governor and Director, proposed to raise a body of volunteers *d'honneur*, and every one showed his zeal for the nation on this occasion by joining it. It was composed in part of the official staff of Chandernagore, *i.e.* sub-merchants, employés, Captains of the India ships, and the officers of the said ships. I had the honour to be named Lieutenant and Major [? Adjutant] and was much flattered when I saw the emulation which reigned in every heart. We had a flag with the device '*Solus honos arma dedit*,' which was blessed on the 1st January,

[1] Of course the Seths were not Muhammadans.

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1757.[1] M. Renault, the Governor, appointed himself the Commandant, and made his son Captain-Lieutenant to command in his place. I cannot sufficiently praise the spirit of exactitude with which every one was animated and the progress which all made in so short a time in the management of their arms and in drill. I lay stress on the fact that it was an occupation absolutely new to them, and one of which the beginning always appears very hard, but they overcame all difficulties and made an amusement of what to others would appear very laborious.

The European Marine were not the last to acquaint themselves with land drill. We had received in the month of August the ship *Le Saint Contest* commanded by M. De la Vigne Buisson, which circumstances did not allow us to despatch to Europe. The capacity, the accomplishments and the prudence of this Captain are sufficiently well known, and the sequel will show what a resource the crew of his ship was to us in time of need.

The English in passing Chandernagore made no attempt against us; they landed their men before Hugli, and got possession of it on the second day, set fire to the greater part of the town, ruined the fortifications which they blew up, and returned after this expedition to Calcutta, having received word that the Nawab with all his army was marching against that place. He showed indeed an astonishing activity in his march and took only five days to get there, a thing which Europeans could do only with difficulty. This gave us good augury of the success of his undertaking, but we knew little of the Moors.

Our hearts were embittered against the English by their refusal of the neutrality, which was of no good presage to us if they had the advantage in war; but should we have been more tranquil if the Moors had succeeded again? Their impertinence and vexatious behaviour would anyhow have ruined our Company in Bengal and we should not have been able to maintain ourselves there except by sheer force. I can therefore hardly say what would have been most advantageous to our nation, that the Moors should have succeeded in driving out the English, or that the English after having overwhelmed them should have captured us as they have done. Future events alone can decide.

The Nawab having arrived at Calcutta, encamped and entrenched himself in Moor fashion. The English, favoured by a very thick fog risked an attack and destroyed many of his people; they lost many too on their own side, and it is said the number of killed and wounded

[1] The French made no proposals for a treaty of neutrality until after this date. In fact their first envoys arrived in Calcutta about the 4th January.

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amounted to one hundred and fifty on the side of the English, which is a large number for a skirmish. The Nawab was not discouraged and wished to give them battle, but he found much difficulty from his generals, almost all of whom had been gained over by the Seths who favoured the English, and, finding himself abandoned, determined to make a treaty with them to the effect that he engaged himself to pay them 100 *lakhs* to recoup them for the loss they had suffered in their Settlements, to continue them in the possession of the privileges they had previously enjoyed and to make over to them several villages which would produce them a large revenue. It was not likely that a treaty so disadvantageous for the Nawab would last long, and it was easy to see that he had determined to conclude it only because of the opposition he had met with from his generals. The English felt this and proposed to profit by his refusal to carry it out in order to push things still further.

The Nawab, at leisure owing to the shameful treaty he had just made, set out for Murshidabad. He stopped at Hugli, whence he sent a *salami* (as we call an assurance of friendship) and to confirm it still more strongly, he sent with it 100,000 rupees which he ordered to be paid us. It was, in truth, only a small repayment on account of the sum which he had obliged us to pay him some months before, as I have said above; but by a *parwana* which he sent us, he gave us the government of Hugli, abandoned us all the revenues of its dependencies, and permitted us to coin money, on the sole condition that we would build a fort there and keep up a garrison half Moor and half European. We were not in a position to accept his offer for the present, although very advantageous to our nation, being sufficiently occupied in putting the little we had in Bengal in a state of defence so as to be able to preserve it. The money came very opportunely for this business, but the English did not allow us the time to finish our preparations, and found means to keep us in suspense up to the moment when they resolved to attack us.

After the treaty of peace between the English and the Nawab, the Council of Chandernagore sent two Councillors to compliment the Admiral on the success of his arms and to propose to him to ratify the neutrality which had always existed in the Ganges between the European nations, but he always persisted in answering our deputies that he would conclude nothing until the French nation had made a league offensive and defensive against the Nawab with the English. It was in vain our deputies represented to him that we could not bind

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ourselves by such an engagement without being authorised thereto by the Superior Council of Pondicherry on whom we were absolutely dependent; he persistently replied that it was useless for the deputies to propose a neutrality to him if we could conclude nothing on our own authority. Doubtless the intention of the Admiral was, once this engagement was made, to make a boast of it to the Nawab, to put us in a labyrinth and leave us there, being sure of finding some trivial cause of quarrel to excuse himself for breaking it when it should suit him to do so.

Our deputies returning to Chandernagore without having completed anything, we disposed ourselves seriously to our defence, and constructed several outposts to prevent the enemy from penetrating into our town, but they were of very little use; and this will not appear strange when one reflects that they were a long distance from the heart of the town, surrounded by thatched huts at half pistol range, and that the enemy being accordingly able to approach right up to them unperceived, it was easy for them by keeping to the huts to take the outposts at the first onset without much trouble, whatever resistance they made. We neglected the body of the place for these works, and committed a serious mistake [in doing so]. In truth we flattered ourselves with the hope of receiving every day reinforcements from Pondicherry, and counted on the Nawab who had promised us troops and even to join us with all his army to oppose the English if they attacked us, but ought we to have relied on the Moors who had just given such complete proofs of their great cowardice? This is however the course which was followed, and instead of devoting ourselves to making a good glaçis round the Fort and palisades to all the curtains, in short to taking all the necessary measures for sustaining a siege advantageously by making heaps of sacks-of-earth, *aotiers* (?) and every thing suitable to repair a breach if it were made or to establish batteries where needed, instead of occupying ourselves with these miserable outposts, all the evil results of which we felt, though too late, from the very first day of the attack.

The English, informed of our preparations, still ventured to write to us at the end of February that, if our deputies would go again to Calcutta, they would seriously set to work at the conclusion of the neutrality. So as to have no cause to reproach ourselves we hazarded this step, which was as unfortunate as the other; they tried to amuse us so as to gain time whilst they waited for the ships from Bombay which brought them a thousand soldiers. This manœuvre on their part caused a

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contradiction in the letters which we sent to Pondicherry by daily *pattamars*, and prevented the Nawab, owing to his uncertainty as to what would happen, from taking any final resolution. The ships from Bombay having then arrived whilst our deputies were at Calcutta, the English told them they might return and that within two or three days they would send two gentlemen with the treaty of neutrality signed by the Admiral. It was a treaty of quite a new kind as you will see. Scarcely had the deputies left Calcutta when the English sent troops and artillery across the Ganges on the pretext that they were going to Murshidabad, (the Nawab having summoned them to march with him against the Pathans who were advancing into his country), and encamped near our Settlement. The deputies they had announced not arriving, we easily concluded that they would try to surprise us. We reinforced all our outposts by emptying the Fort of people and took into our service two thousand Moors from Hugli who offered to assist us.

On the 14th March they commenced the attack at 3 o'clock in the morning by an onset upon an outpost situated to the west of the Fort. At the first discharges made on our advanced guard, the Moors, whom we had placed on the houses to support it, took to flight and went and took refuge behind other houses which were protected by the outpost, and whence it was not possible for them to fire. This unexpected cowardice on their part, seeing they had voluntarily presented themselves, and the flames surrounding the outpost on all sides from the fire which the English set to the thatched huts which surrounded it, determined us (in order to resist their assault) to send successively all the troops we had in the Fort. At 5 o'clock we sent fifty grenadiers, at 9 thirty artillerymen, at 12 thirty volunteers *d'honneur*, and at 4 sixty soldiers of the marine. If the English had captured this outpost, which would have been very easy for them for 200 grenadiers sword in hand and well led could have taken it in less than an hour without firing a shot, they would then have deprived the other outposts of all means of falling back on the Fort, and would have captured it cheaply, there being hardly any men in it to defend it, but luckily for us they stopped where they were, and having retired to their camp at the fall of night we profited by its obscurity to recall the outposts, having had the good luck to lose only ten men in killed and wounded in a day which might well have cost us a hundred. We brought back to the Fort most of the guns which it was possible for us to withdraw from the outposts and all the munitions; we spiked the guns which we could not withdraw, broke their carriages

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and from this moment thought only of defending the Fort and maintaining to the last extremity the honour of the flag.

The same day we caused four of our ships to be sunk so as to prevent the passage of the English war ships and had three run ashore, our garrison being already too feeble to detach a guard for the preservation of the ships. We retained only a battery of six guns which we had made on the bank of the Ganges to the east of the Fort, facing the curtain. It was supported by the bastions of the north and south, and it was all the more necessary to us as it prevented the English from establishing themselves on this side, for if they could have planted batteries there they might easily have destroyed the two bastions, made a breach, and delivered an assault without our being able to hinder them, there being no guns on the curtain on this side, nor ditch, palissade or glaçis, which could hinder their approach.

The Fort d'Orleans of Chandernagore was a square of one hundred fathoms, flanked by four bastions, each of sixteen guns, i.e. five on each face and three on the flanks, there were three guns in the middle of the south curtain and five in that of the west. The walls of the south curtain were only three feet thick and without a rampart.

The only communication between the middle of the curtains and the two bastions was by a wooden gallery supported by bamboos. The west curtain was stronger, having a strong vaulted warehouse which stood against it and which formed its casemate, extending from one bastion to the other. There was beyond the ditch a great Tank only two fathoms away from it which prevented any precipitate attack of the enemy on this side. The north curtain was a simple wall a foot and a half thick, up to the *cordons* of the bastions; on this we had at all risks placed three feet of masonry to give a little more shelter to the people inside the Fort. We had made a palisade outside four feet from the wall, supported by a screen of earth turfed over, five feet thick. As this part was the weakest and the gate was of no use at all, we erected a battery on the avenue outside the gate which mounted three twelve pounders. The curtain facing the Ganges was entirely neglected owing to our confidence that the four sunken ships would prevent the English war-ships from coming up, and that the enemy would never risk attacking us on this side, the batteries of which I have spoken preventing their approach.

The Fort was commanded at sixty fathoms distance by two-storied houses, from which one could see into the Fort to the very foot of the ramparts. Not being provided with sacks of earth, and not being able

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to get any work from our soldiers, owing to the bad will prevalent amongst them, we lost many men by the fire of the English from the roofs of these houses.

On the 15th they took possession of the Settlement and did us no harm all that day, all their soldiers being drunk with the wine which they had found in the houses. Unfortunately we did not know of this. It would have been the moment to make a sortie, the results of which must have been favourable to us, the enemy being incapable of defending themselves.

The 16th they began to send us bombs which did not have much effect, and continued these on the 17th and 18th. On the latter day they unmasked a battery which they had built about one hundred fathoms from the Fort and from which they fired a few shots. We no sooner perceived it than three guns on our bastions which commanded it began to fire and silenced it.

The 19th their ships appeared in sight of the Fort and anchored to the south out of cannon range. The Admiral sent an officer to summon the place to surrender, offering to leave the inhabitants their property and to give good terms to every one in the Fort. We replied that unless he wished to ransom the place we were not inclined to listen to any proposals as we still had some ammunition for the guns within our walls. They recommenced to bombard us with as little result as before, and we lost at most only ten men by their bombs.

The 20th at night they tried to capture our battery on the bank of the Ganges, but they were vigorously repulsed and lost some men wounded and others prisoners.

The 22nd we found out that they had established a battery of five 32-pounders at sixty fathoms from the place in a house facing the south bastion on the bank of the Ganges. We fired on it the rest of the day and managed to unmask it. In the night they repaired the damage we had done in the day, and the 23rd at break of day we recommenced firing, but what was our surprise when we saw the ships hoist sail and pass above those we had sunk without being stopped for a minute. We felt too late the mistake occasioned by our excessive confidence in neglecting to establish a battery of thirty guns, even of eight-pounders, along the curtain of the Ganges, and we had nothing with which to make it except bales of merchandise, as we were without sacks of earth, fascines, gabions &c. We should have been able to do much more damage to the ships which came alongside the Fort at half pistol range. We had only fourteen guns to oppose to more than one

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hundred which fired on us.[1] The detachment we had in the battery on the bank of the Ganges had only time to discharge their guns against the English vessels and get back into the Fort. The ships passed like a flash and anchored at 6 a.m. The *Tiger* of 66 guns placed itself before the flag-staff bastion in the north, the *Kent*, with the Admiral, of 70 guns before the south bastion, and the *Salisbury* of 56 before the curtain.[2] Their fire was very violent and after an hour's fight the *merlons* of the bastion were all razed and there were nearly 150 men *hors de combat* and five guns no longer fit to fire. However we continued firing till nearly 9 o'clock when we were obliged to beat a parley. Our bastions were sapped at the foot and ready to crumble away; six hundred English soldiers were lying behind the screen and ready to mount to the assault; a quarter of an hour's further fire would render us unable to oppose them; nearly one hundred and twenty deserters who formed the majority of our garrison began to mutiny and demanded to be let out; not a soldier would put his hand to a gun, and it was only the European Marine who stood to their duty, and half of these were already *hors de combat*.

Accordingly we allowed those who were afraid to fall into the hands of the English to go out, and then asked to capitulate.[3] The Articles of the Capitulation being drawn up, one of the two English officers whom the Admiral had sent us accompanied one of our officers who was charged with the Capitulation. Here are the Articles of it.

* * * * *

The Capitulation being signed by both parties the English troops entered the Fort to the number of more than six hundred men. The soldiers and sailors were disarmed and taken to prison. As for the Director and Councillors, and Company's servants, who by the 9th Article were not prisoners, Colonel Clive informed them on the part of the Admiral that none of them would be allowed to pass out of the Fort without signing a paper which they presented to us, and by which we engaged ourselves not to take up arms directly or indirectly against His Britannic Majesty during the war. Representations made on this subject were useless. They protested they would let no one go out of the Fort

[1] In spite of the small number of guns we had to oppose those which fired on us, we put the *Kent* in such a pitiable condition that the English were obliged to condemn her and turn her into a hulk at Calcutta. (*Note by the writer.*)

[2] The *Salisbury* never came really into action.

[3] The deserters did not make their escape till after the white flag had been hoisted.

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before we had satisfied this demand, without taking the trouble to consider that from this moment they were breaking a treaty of capitulation, which has in all times been regarded as sacred. They had given us permission to carry off our property, clothes and linen, but they made us pay dear for it by the underhanded and repeated difficulties they made in letting us pass the gates, beating the *coolies* who carried our things, and by this treatment almost forcing us to renounce and give them up. Our only wish at the time was to get away out of their power and that made us pass over all difficulties even to the detriment of our property of which we were obliged to lose a part.

We withdrew to Chinsura, the capital of the Dutch in Bengal. We augured well from the favourable reception which they appeared to give us, but they acted like traitors on this occasion, for they treated us with kindness on our arrival only to make sure of us and to hand us over to our enemy when he should require us, as will be seen. On the 12th April Mr. Clive wrote to M. Renault and the Council in the name of the Admiral that he was to go to the English camp to give an account of his conduct, warning him that the intention of the Admiral was that the Council should be separated. This order haughtily delivered by an officer on the part of Mr. Clive made the Chiefs open their eyes. They thought they might avail themselves on this occasion of the Capitulation, under which they considered they were not prisoners. Accordingly they referred to it and denounced as invalid the document which they had been forced to sign after there were six hundred men in the place. Starting from this basis they replied to Mr. Clive that they did not know on what grounds he pretended that they were under his orders, since he was not ignorant that, by the Capitulation, they were not prisoners of war; that, besides, they were under the flag of the States General who would surely not allow him to use the force with which he threatened them. But what cowardice and infamy! Could any one have suspected that the Dutch Governor and Council were acting in concert with our enemy. It is however a fact, and I will produce the proof immediately.

As soon as Mr. Clive received the reply of the Council he sent a detachment of five hundred *sepoys* and fifteen sloops manned by sailors who landed the *sepoys* at the Dutch *ghat*. The sloops cruised before Chinsura to prevent any boats leaving. The English officers, charged with the orders of Mr. Clive, brought to M. Bisdom, the Dutch Director at 3 p.m., an order for circulation amongst all the French to come to M. Bisdom's house. When we were all assembled there M. Bisdom

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addressed M. Renault, and told him that Mr. Clive demanded in the name of the Admiral all the French who were in Chinsura. Every one must obey as he would not be responsible for the violence which would be committed if we did not obey willingly. M. Renault, who had with him the corrected copy of the Capitulation, showed it to him. On his refusing to listen to any of the reasons which he offered, he [M. Renault] represented to him that he could not, after having given the protection of his flag to all the French who had taken refuge with him, suffer the English to commit any violence against them without rendering himself a participant in this violation of the right of nations; that the law was distinct; and that if he refused under these circumstances the protection of his flag after having given it to us on our arrival at Chinsura he must give us an escort sufficiently strong to take us in safety to some place where we should be free from the evil practices of our enemy; but M. Bisdom replied that he would do nothing and that he would not even protest against the bad treatment we were receiving; that he would also take his own course; and that the best advice he could give M. Renault was to agree quickly to what the English demanded if he did not wish to experience the disgrace of seeing himself roughly forced to submit.

This unjust treatment determined the Council to go to the English camp. They were also influenced by their wish to avoid the violence which they threatened us with, out of consideration for the women and children who would certainly have suffered at the hands of the native soldiers who, emboldened by the orders of their chiefs, paid no respect to any one and were capable of maltreating people of either sex.

The Director and Councillors arriving in the English camp, Mr. Clive received them very unkindly, accusing them of having broken their word in distributing money to purchase food amongst the French soldiers who had escaped from prison; he also accused them of having engaged one of the said soldiers to flee up country in order to join M. Law, and even of having threatened him on his refusing. Complaints of this kind, founded on the report of a wretch who was betraying his flag, did they deserve to be listened to? If the English had not had some object in view would they have listened for a moment to such accusations as these; but they wanted a pretext and, without examining whether that which they used was good or not, they decided on the departure of the Council for Calcutta. On their arrival they were shut up in a house and sentinels were placed at the doors leading from the chambers into the garden to prevent any communication with persons outside.

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Orders were given to examine every thing which belonged to them; they did not even except their drinking water and the sentinel put his hand into the jug to see if there was not a paper there.

The English having made sure of the Council gave orders that all the officials who remained at Chinsura should go to Chandernagore, where they assigned us houses to live in, and brought up soldiers to guard us. We were not however ill treated, and had no particular reason to complain for nearly five months.

Eight days after the imprisonment of the Council the English, seeing that the continued sojourn of M. Law at Cossimbazar was a great obstacle to the success of the project which they had formed against the Nawab, as he with his force of one hundred and fifty Europeans and one hundred well disciplined *sepoys* was able, if he joined the Moors, to cause the failure of their enterprises, forced the Nawab to send them out of his territory. They wrote to the Nawab that, having made a treaty with them by which he engaged to assist them against all their enemies and not being ignorant that all the French were included in this number, he must arrest and hand over all of them. If not they threatened to put all his country to blood and fire and to take vengeance for his refusal to satisfy them.

The Nawab after the shameful treaty that he had made with them was no longer the same man as he had been. They had succeeded in gaining over all his *Durbar* or Council. If the Council of Chandernagore suffered at Calcutta ought M. Law to suffer less at Cossimbazar? The Seths who were devoted to the English had gained the mind of the Nawab by false pretences and made him submit to whatever they wished. If he had suspected the object they aimed at, or rather if he had listened to M. Law, he would certainly have been put on his guard against all that threatened him, but over confidence caused his ruin. M. Law often appeared at the *Durbar* and suffered even the most cruel mortifications from Mr. Watts, Chief of the English Factory, who pushed his boldness so far as to summon him, before the chief lords whom the English had won over, to surrender himself prisoner and transport himself with all his people to Calcutta, where, he added, he should receive the most honourable treatment. But how little did he, in his blindness, know M. Law when he thought him capable of being frightened by threats or of being seduced by promises? He told him firmly, as well as the *diwans* who supported Mr. Watts, that neither he nor any one else was able to make him submit to such a cowardly act, and that he would need to use all the forces he had

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before determining him to change his resolution. Mr. Watts, who did not expect such firmness and who had relied on the power which the chiefs he had gained over were able to exercise, remained motionless and could make no reply. The Chief had judiciously arranged for a guard of forty grenadiers to be sent for his service if he needed them. It presented itself at the right moment and, hearing their Commandant speaking angrily, they forced the *Durbar* guard and established themselves in the very hall in which he was. Mr. Watts who had not expected this precaution, lowered his voice and withdrew quietly in fear of being their victim.

M. Law clearly saw on this occasion the weakness of the Nawab who allowed himself to be governed by fear. He determined to speak with him at whatever cost, and those who opposed him, not seeing how they could prevent him, announced him to the Nawab as a rebel who would not submit to his orders or accept the terms offered by the English. This description did not frighten him; he appeared before the Nawab with an assurance capable of impressing even him. The Nawab felt it, as he easily saw, since he cast down his eyes when he presented himself. He firmly claimed his rights, and the Nawab, overcome by his remonstrances, told him he left him free to withdraw whither he pleased; that he would in consequence give him *dustaks;* that present circumstances did not permit him to act openly; but that he would send orders to Patna to give him every thing he might want. M. Law retired and made preparations for his departure. He left, in short, on the 16th May, and marched right through Murshidabad with six guns, drums beating, and banners displayed. On the 2nd June he received a *parwana* from the Nawab by which he ordered him to return quickly to Murshidabad. He did not think he ought to obey it for fear there might be some treachery in the order. Finally on the 3rd June he arrived at Bankipur a league above Patna, where he encamped and began to erect barracks to shelter his men during the rainy season. It was there he learned the contradictory actions of the English, who a short time before had informed the Moors that the French were cowards, a despicable nation and the last in Europe. [Might it not be possible for us quickly to convince them of the contrary, and prove to them that, after having received in Europe the punishment due to the hostilities which they have themselves begun, there remains to them in India no country where their boasts can have effect? I count much upon our General whom the Court is sending with this object, and who will I hope leave us nothing to desire on this head!] They

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now when they found their first insinuations had not succeeded, told the Nawab in order to irritate him still further, that the French in truth were warriors the more to be feared because, no longer possessing any thing in Europe, they would try to establish themselves in India and make themselves entirely masters of it. They mentioned, as a proof of what they advanced, our conduct on the [Madras] Coast and the glorious actions which had just been performed by M. Bussy in the Deccan. May their conjecture find itself verified! It will certainly prove to the Government that the French have always ruled with more humanity, and have always maintained their rule with greater love from their subjects than the English have ever done. My zeal carries me away and I wander from my subject. I return to it.

The English after the departure of M. Law from Cossimbazar, in order to impose upon the Nawab, pretended to recall the troops which they had at Hugli and appeared quite satisfied. They played at this moment a *rôle* which no Frenchman will envy them.

The Nawab believing this to be the case had dismissed the greater part of his troops, having refused to pay them, and had thus made himself many enemies. Mir Jafar Ali Khan had the strongest reasons for complaint; the Nawab had missed no opportunity of making him suffer the most cruel mortifications. He offered himself to the English, and gave them hostages. The Seths supported him by offering themselves as his guarantees. The English were quite sure of the fidelity of the latter from the convincing proofs they had already received. So they did not hesitate to accept Mir Jafar Ali Khan and made a convention with him in advance. They proposed to make him Nawab, and Mir Jafar Ali Khan bound himself to give them a considerable sum of money and gave them as a hostage one of his confidants, Mirza Omar Beg, who has since obtained as recompense the *Faujdari* of Hugli and a *lakh* of rupees. Besides Mir Jafar, Siraj-uddaula, when he assumed the reins of government, had insulted and driven away all the old officers of the *Durbar;* he had not even spared his relations; showing no respect or consideration of any kind and following only the caprices of his impetuous nature. He had taken from Mir Jafar the post of *Bakshi* whilst showering upon him the most insulting epithets in full *Durbar*. Raja Durlabh Ram, his second general, had not less reason for complaint. All these grievances uniting, it will not be surprising that every body, urged on as they were by the Seths who have immense treasures in Bengal and who hold the highest rank in the State should have readily listened to the proposals made them to destroy the

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Nawab; but are they any more devoted to the English, except the Seths who find their advantage in being so? I say, No; that every one was trying to deliver the land from a monster; that, at that time, the English being the only power to whom they could have recourse for the attainment of this object, they employed them on this occasion, as they would have done any other nation which might have had superior forces. However, the conspiracy being well on foot, the English began their march and put all their guns and munitions on boats which they landed at Plassey, seven leagues from Murshidabad. The Nawab then felt the full extent of his mistake in sending M. Law away, but now there was no time and the evil was without remedy. He wrote to him upon this subject and his letters arrived too late. Happy in finding at Cossimbazar some Frenchmen who had escaped from prison to the number of forty, he took them into his service under the orders of M. Sinfray, and the way in which they behaved themselves left him no room to doubt that if M. Law had rejoined him he would have beaten his enemies and destroyed them in the Ganges country so that they could never have hoped to re-establish themselves.

M. Sinfray, who had obtained a private audience from the Nawab, begged him to open his eyes completely; told him that he ought not any longer to doubt that a conspiracy had been formed against him, and that it was absolutely essential to arrest its chiefs if he wished to thwart it; but he always persisted in his obstinacy, and replied that this could not be, and that he was sure of the fidelity of those whom he accused. M. Sinfray showed him the letters written to him on this subject, but they were of no use, and he decided to march against the English without waiting for M. Law who had started to join him. He set out on the 19th June at night and arrived early in the morning in the presence of the English. He drew up his army in order of battle, forming it into three corps. Mir Jafar commanded one and took the right wing, the Nawab another in the centre, and Raja Durlabh Ram the third which formed the left wing.

The English were entrenched behind a brick kiln where they had raised a battery of light guns. Our forty Frenchmen served the Nawab's artillery vigorously. The English made a violent fire without any distinction on the three corps of the army, and, by this manœuvre, hindered Mir Jafar from joining them. He made no movement for or against them and contented himself with being a spectator of the combat. He merely withdrew slowly to a distance sufficient to prevent his people being hurt by the fire of the English.

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The Nawab's guns served by our Frenchmen made the English withdraw and regain their entrenchments. The firing was lively for four hours and the Nawab would have won the victory if he had only charged the English with the body of troops entrusted to him, but having discovered the meaning of Mir Jafar's manœuvre, who, instead of supporting him, was withdrawing with all his men, he had no further doubt of his treachery. He was terrified and thought only of flight. He sent orders to our Frenchmen to withdraw and hurriedly retreated to Murshidabad.

The English who were in the greatest consternation and were preparing to return to Calcutta, recovered courage when they saw this movement and began the pursuit of the Moors. They recognised Mir Jafar, who now joined them with all his forces, and the allies marched together without delay to Murshidabad, which they entered easily, the Nawab having abandoned the town and directed his course towards M. Law with a small body of soldiers who had followed him. Mir Jafar detached a force to follow and arrest him. He was captured in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Rajmehal and conducted to Murshidabad where he was put in prison. Two days later he asked to bathe himself which was permitted, but when he was in the bath the son of Mir Jafar and several other conspirators entered the chamber and stabbed him in the most shocking manner. His head was cut off and placed on the point of a pike, his body was thrown on the back of an elephant and paraded through all the streets of Murshidabad.

Thus miserably perished this proud Nawab, who shortly before had spread terror through the country and made all the European nations tremble, a thing which none of his predecessors had dared to attempt. If he had been supported he was naturally brave, but he was born cruel and gave himself up to the most violent excesses, even to the extent of causing the body of a pregnant woman to be opened whilst she was alive to see how the child was placed in her womb, and of ordering a dancing girl to be beheaded because she did not acquit herself as well as he had been led to expect when she danced before him; in short, a thousand acts of this nature one worse than the other. His gross injustice towards everybody caused his death to be little regretted by anybody.

78. *Translation of an extract from Voltaire, 'Fragments Historiques sur l'Inde,' Article XII.*

A quarrel arose between their [the English] Factory on the Ganges and the *Subahdar* of Bengal. This prince thought that the English

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must have a considerable garrison at Calcutta as they had dared to brave him. That town however contained only a Council of merchants, and about 300 soldiers. The greatest Prince in India marched against them with 60,000 soldiers, 300 cannons and 300 elephants.

The Governor of Calcutta, named Drake, was a very different man from the famous Admiral Drake. It has been said, it has been written, that he was of that primitive Nazarene religion professed by those respectable Pennsylvanians whom we know under the name of Quakers.[1] These primitive [Christians] whose fatherland is Philadelphia in the New World and ought to make our [fatherland] blush [with shame], have the same horror of blood as the *Brahmins*. They regard war as a crime. Drake was a very able merchant and a plain simple man (*un honnête homme*): he had till then concealed his religion: he now declared himself, and the Council sent him on board ship so as to be in safety.

Who would believe that the *Moguls*, at the first assault, lost 12,000 men? The accounts assure us of this fact. If this is really true nothing can be more convincing of what we are so fond of telling ourselves—the superiority of Europe. But the resistance could not last long; the town was taken; the prisoners all put in irons. Amongst the captives were 146 Englishmen, officers and merchants, who were led into a prison called the Black Hole. They underwent a sad experience of [what is to be suffered from] air stagnant and heated, or rather of the vapours continuously exhaled from [human] bodies, and which is called air. One hundred and twenty-three died from its effects in a few hours. . . . Mr. Holwell, second in rank in Calcutta, was one of those who escaped from the sudden contagion. He and the other twenty-two servants of the Factory were taken in a dying condition to Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal. The *Subahdar* took pity on them and had their chains taken off. Holwell offered him a ransom, which the Prince refused, saying that he had suffered too much to be also obliged to pay for his liberty.

79. *Translation of an extract from a letter from M. Renault to M. the Marquis Dupleix, dated Chandernagore, 4 September, 1757.*[2]

SIR,—The opportunity which presents itself to-day and of which I take advantage, to do myself the honour of writing to you, appearing safe,

[1] See M. Durand's letter in the *London Chronicle*, June 16-18, 1757, p. 78.

[2] Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., Paris.

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and the person who takes charge of my letter wishing it to be only very small in size, it is not possible to enter into all the details necessary to the full explanation of the misfortune which has happened to us in losing this Establishment. I am going therefore to make my account as summary and as succinct as I possibly can.

I informed you last year of the catastrophe which befell the English in June of the same year and of the danger we ran at the same time, and also what it had cost the Company to escape from it. Dispositions so unfavourable to the European nations on the part of the Nawab (a man of ferocious and fiery character, and of insatiable cupidity) clearly showing that none of them were in safety and that under various circumstances, which he was capable of creating, they would find themselves exposed to the most cruel extremities, I had without doubt the right to expect in circumstances so critical that on the description I made of our situation to Pondicherry proper provision would have been made; nothing indeed could have been more striking than the description which the Council and I gave of our embarrassment in letter after letter, nothing more pressing than our demands, nor more convincing than the reasons which we adduced to show their absolute necessity. The reasons deduced from what had already happened on the part of this Prince, however interesting they might be, were nothing in comparison with those which arose upon the news we received from the [Madras] Coast, whence the Superior Council and M. de Leyrit informed me repeatedly of the approaching declaration of war between France and England, and of the considerable armament which was preparing at Madras to come and take vengeance for Calcutta. There was no doubt that at first the English would try to pass all their troops into Bengal. Prudence demanded that we should be placed at least beyond the reach of insult, if we could not be put in a condition to oppose their enterprises. For, as M. de Leyrit rightly observed, it was to be feared that the English if they obtained any advantages would undertake a revolution so as to place on the throne a Nawab devoted to themselves, and thus play in this country the same rôle which we are playing on the Coast. On the other hand results of an opposite character did not appear less to be feared, owing to the degradation in which they would have plunged all Europeans and the annoying effects which would have followed from this, the Nawab being the very man to try to expel all Europeans from the country in order to get rid of them all at once.

Filled with these anxieties and placed between alternatives all the

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more cruel as one could not even say which of them one ought to desire, I saw four of our vessels arrive in succession in Bengal from Pondicherry without money or troops. The first brought only 167 *sepoys* and 61 Europeans, amongst whom there were forty-five who were pensioners [*invalides*] and unfit to bear arms; but even had they been heroes, what use would such a feeble reinforcement have been to a garrison of eighty-five white men, the number to which we had informed them our forces amounted.

In place of effective reinforcements M. de Leyrit kept repeating the same orders which he had given me since the month of April of last year *viz.* to fortify myself as well as I could and to put our Establishment in security against a sudden assault. Supposing even in our absolute dearth of money we could have done this, what use would there have been in these fortifications without soldiers, provisions, munitions of war etc.? Far however from being discouraged by so many obstacles and by those which I found on the part of the Nawab, who did not wish to allow us to make the smallest fortification, and to whom, in that respect, everything gave offence, I had no sooner learned that the English squadron, carrying a landing force of 3,000 men including 1,500 *sepoys*, had arrived in the Ganges in December last, than I used every means, as far as circumstances permitted me, to preserve, if possible, the Establishment of Chandernagore from the enterprises which might be undertaken against it by forces which were so considerable in number, and whose designs were the more suspicious as M. Le Verrier had sent me an express from Surat to give me positive information of the declaration of war between the two nations, and, though the object of the English was to avenge themselves on the Nawab for the outrages which he had committed against their nation, there was every reason to fear that at the least advantage which they gained over this Prince, being instructed besides of our extreme weakness, they would wish to profit by it to seize Chandernagore. We could not flatter ourselves that they would be restrained by the neutrality of the Ganges, which had been hitherto only indifferently observed out of respect for the Government. This is, beyond contradiction, a reflection which makes the abandonment in which the gentlemen at Pondicherry have left us all the more incomprehensible since M. de Leyrit informed me that he felt convinced there would be no further thought of neutrality in the Ganges after the revolution which had taken place there. However, we had to prepare ourselves with all diligence and with all the means in our possession to repel, in case the enemy attacked us, that ruin which we could not

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deceive ourselves into thinking unlikely, when we considered the state of the town and the hardly half completed condition of the fortifications, at which nevertheless I had been working in spite of the Nawab's prohibition. The alarm which this Prince gave us in June last year having given me reason to examine into the state of the artillery, I found not one of the carriages of the guns on the ramparts was in a serviceable condition, not a field piece mounted, not a —— nor platform for the mortars. I gave all my attention to these matters and fortunately had time to put them right. Besides my arrangements for getting all the strength I could out of the garrison, the Marine, the inhabitants and the Company's servants, when I saw that affairs were in a still more critical situation owing to the advantages which the English had gained over the Moors, from whom they took in rapid succession the fortresses of Budge Budge, Makwa Tana, and even Calcutta on the 2nd January, and when I saw that the enemy might be on us at any moment I thought it my duty to drop the consideration I had till then considered it wise to show for the Government, and to set about the outworks which it was absolutely necessary to put in a defensible contion. Accordingly I began pulling down the Church, the House of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and all those to the north. I would have done the same to those on the south if I had had time and workmen, and if, at the first hostilities between the English and the Moors, all the country people had not taken alarm and entirely deserted our Colony.

In the midst of these military occupations I did not neglect trying what could be done by negotiation. Immediately after the arrival of the squadron at Calcutta two deputies were sent there to know from Admiral Watson, whether, according to what had been the custom hitherto, the English would observe neutrality in the Ganges, and to propose to him at the same time an authoritative treaty between us, which was refused after a few days. Such a refusal indicated only too clearly the views of that nation and put us under the necessity of joining the Nawab against them, but the Council, restrained by our weakness and the fear of what might happen, did not dare to take this extreme measure, and resolved, whilst continuing to fortify ourselves, to see how affairs would turn out between the English and the Moors. The former with a frigate and some little ships, on which they had put a party of their people, took possession of the village of Hugli, from which they did not retire to go to Calcutta until they had burned it and its neighbourhood. They were followed thither by the army of the Nawab. This Prince, who till then had always looked with indifference on the movements of the enemy,

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doubtless fearing at this moment the result of a battle, thought that, by addressing himself to me, he might come to terms with them. He wrote a letter with this object at the end of January to engage me to undertake the affair and to ascertain what were the demands of the English. I accepted his commission with all the more pleasure, because, besides the hope of pacifying the troubles, the consequences of which could not fail sooner or later to be reflected back on us, I reckoned that one of the most essential clauses of the Treaty would be the neutrality of the Ganges and a formal promise on the part of the English not to disturb its tranquillity in any way. But all these hopes were rapidly dissipated by the refusal of the Council of Calcutta to accept our mediation and to admit us to any treaty of peace which might be made between them and the Nawab.

It seemed that the only course open to us was to join their enemies since they took so little trouble to conceal their evil disposition towards us, but, however advantageous that might have been, it was not permitted us after we had read a letter from M. de Leyrit, dated the 28th November last, which I received at this time. It informed me of the capture of the ship *L'Indien*, that the war was purely maritime, the Minister at present allowing only ships to make attacks and captures, and that his intention was we should not attack the English on land until they committed the first acts of hostility.

We were therefore obliged to remain in the same position as we were in at the commencement of these troubles, from the continuance of which we drew no advantage except our fortifications, the work on which, in spite of all my efforts, went on very slowly.

In the meantime the English, who had for some days been face to face with the Nawab, attacked his camp at dawn. Though they sent all their soldiers, and added the crews of all their ships, and managed to surprise the Moors, they got less advantage than they expected from this combat. After having gained some ground on the enemy they could not keep it against Siraj-uddaula, who had rallied a part of his army: they retreated in disorder and were only too fortunate in being able to put themselves under the protection of the guns of their Fort, having lost in this action nearly two hundred men. However little favourable it had been to them, as they had killed a very large number of people, having fallen upon the camp-followers' quarter, the Ministers of the Nawab, almost all of whom were partisans of the English, desiring only to make peace, profited by this occasion to bring the Nawab to it, and he, forced by the mutinous disposition of his generals and by the

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fear of a Pathan invasion, found himself, contrary to his own wishes, obliged to consent and even to submit to extremely hard conditions.

As soon as we heard of this accommodation, so different in every way from what we had expected, it was not difficult to see that we should be the victims of it,[1] although Siraj-uddaula, in his retreat, sent me all possible assurances of his friendship for the French, with the most favourable *parwanas* and privileges, and his envoy gave me to understand that he was always, at heart, enraged against the English whom he continued to regard as his enemies. His promise to stand by me against them if they attacked me was no great consolation as I knew how little I could rely on a man of his character. Feeling more than ever the danger of our position, I collected all kinds of provisions in the Fort by means of the 100,000 rupees which the Prince had fortunately sent us before his departure. Though I continued my preparations with all the speed possible, I nevertheless eagerly welcomed some overtures which were now made us to renew negotiations with the Council at Calcutta. Two Councillors went there; everything appeared at first to be in accordance with our desires; we had agreed on the form of the Articles of the treaty; the draft was prepared and ready for signature; but at this moment the arrival at the mouth of the Ganges of the ship *Cumberland* of 80 guns, from Madras, and of three others from Bombay which brought reinforcements of more than 1,000 troops, made the English change their minds.

The Admiral, who had at first promised to ratify the Treaty, withdrew his promise, and so everything was broken off. We soon saw ourselves besieged by land and water. On the 16th March[2] their land force began the attack at three a.m. upon one of the outposts which I had erected for the defence of the Settlement. Although it was only a small redoubt of three guns and though it was attacked by the whole English army, our troops withstood their efforts with great vigour, and, by the aid of the reinforcements which I sent one after the other, maintained themselves in it till 7 p.m. when the firing ceased. But as we were exhausted, and, with our small number of troops, were unable to send fresh men to stand an attack during the night, which we expected owing to the movements of the enemy, we decided that we must give up this outpost and the others also. These, favoured by the darkness, retired

[1] Little classical allusions are frequent in French papers of this time. M. Renault refers to the oxen or other animals offered up as victims or sacrifices by the Romans at the ratification of a treaty.

[2] The date should be the 14th.

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into the Fort in good order. Next day the enemy entered the Settlement and tried to profit by the advantage given them by the proximity of many of the houses to establish batteries, but their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, for as soon as any appeared they were dismounted. On the 18th the squadron of six ships came to their assistance and anchored within sight of the Settlement. Mr. Watson, the English Vice-Admiral who commanded, sent next day to summon me to surrender. Persuaded that, in a fortress like ours and with so few people, we could not resist a naval force, I tried to come to terms, and offered to ransom the place for a sum of money payable by a Bill of Exchange upon the Company to engage the English to retire. This proposal he refused to listen to. The Admiral demanded that we should surrender and that the troops should take possession of the Fort, promising, it is true, to leave every one his own property. Preferring to sacrifice my fortune rather than accept conditions so prejudicial and even dishonourable to the Company, considering the little damage the enemy had done us up to then, I did not hesitate to take the consequences of refusing. The English recommenced their fire at 6 p.m. and more fiercely than ever, but without much effect in spite of the quantity of bombs and grenades which they sent us; they continued this up to the 23rd when the squadron set sail, and the three great ships, *viz.* the *Kent* of 70 guns commanded by Admiral Watson, the *Tiger* of 66 by the Rear-Admiral Pocock and the *Salisbury* of 56, all of a calibre between 18 and 32 pounds, brought their broadsides to bear upon the Fort within musket range.. Their whole artillery joined itself to that of the land force and to the musketry of the troops who were stationed on the roofs of the neighbouring houses which commanded the Fort. For nearly four hours they poured in a terrible fire, which we sustained vigorously, but the fourteen guns in the two bastions on the Ganges, which were all we had to oppose the ships, being dismounted, the *merlons* and the lower portion of the bastions being so damaged as to threaten us with a breach, which the exhaustion of our people and the small number that remained would not have permitted us to defend, we surrendered on the 23rd. It would have been impossible to hold out longer, all our gunners were killed, and we had in this single attack more than 200 men *hors de combat*. The English have since acknowledged that they did not lose fewer men than we did, and that they felt this loss very severely.

The chief Articles of the Capitulation were that the garrison and the sailors should remain prisoners of war and their officers be prisoners on *parole*, the Director, the Councillors, and the Company's servants, should

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be free to go where they please. In consequence of this agreement the English troops took possession of the Fort the same day: but we quickly had convincing proof of the little scruple which this nation shows in the observation of the terms of a treaty. After having made the officers, before they were dismissed, sign a promise not to serve against the King of England and his Allies, they exacted a similar engagement from everybody without distinction, refusing to let any one pass who would not sign it. It was necessary to submit and even to promise we would not go beyond Chinsura, whither we retired on the 24th with the sad remnants of our Colony.

Such has been, Sir, the course of events which has occasioned the capture of Chandernagore. The loss of this Settlement and the ruin of my fortune can only be ascribed to the almost total abandonment in which we have been left by the gentlemen at Pondicherry and to the combination of several circumstances which seem to have united to cause our destruction. In my misfortune I have had the satisfaction to see my two sons distinguish themselves in the siege with all the courage and intrepidity which I could desire.

After the surrender of Chandernagore I retired, as did also the Council, to Chinsura, with the written consent of the Director, and I counted on enjoying there a tranquillity of which I stood greatly in need, but hardly had I passed a few days there when the English forced us to leave on the pretext that I was communicating with the Government, that I had facilitated the escape of a number of prisoners, and had sent them on to M. Law, statements without proof and wholly without foundation. I wished to avail myself of the protection of the Dutch flag to defend myself, but the Dutch, doubtless in concert with the English and even more hostile to us than were the English, refused it, and the Director, far from standing by the permission he had given me to retire to his town, declared drily that he had not intended to give the protection of his flag to me or any other Frenchman, or even to our ladies, and as he did not wish to expose his Settlement to the consequences which might result from my resistance, I must leave it immediately. The English had sent in a considerable force of *sepoys;* the house I occupied was surrounded. Fear of the disorders which these ill-disciplined troops might commit upon the [French] families if I waited till they used force, obliged me and all the other Frenchmen to submit to the will of the English commandant. The Council and I were transported to Calcutta, where having been divided between two houses we were kept very closely confined for the space of two months, without communication with any

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person whatsoever, and it was only by means of an engagement not to serve against His Britannic Majesty and his Allies that we were allowed —the only way to re-establish my health—[all] Calcutta for our prison, and, twenty days later, permission to rejoin our families. The greater part of the French had been forced to come and live here; I came to join them at the commencement of last July.

It was during this interval that they consummated the destruction of the Nawab Siraj-ud daula. They feared we should warn him by informing him of their designs, and this, doubtless, was the reason of our detention. This Prince, as I have had the honour to tell you, had been obliged to make a forced and even dishonourable Peace with the English. The more disadvantageous the Articles of this treaty were to him the more had he been irritated and the greater the hatred he had conceived against them. The English were not ignorant of this, and seeing the delays, which he made for two whole months, in fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, they understood they could never count on a stable condition of affairs so long as he remained head of the Government, and that he would not hesitate to attack them as soon as a part of their forces should go away or when the French should return to avenge themselves. Accordingly they resolved to destroy him and to put another Nawab in his place, which appeared so much the more necessary to them as, in disembarrassing themselves of so dangerous an enemy, they procured themselves a protector engaged to their defence by his own interests. It was therefore, as I have just said, through fear lest our connections with the Nawab might defeat their plans, that they made sure of us in Calcutta and guarded us with such great severity. It was for the same reason that they tried either to seize M. Law or to make it impossible for him to defeat their plans. They managed so effectively with the Nawab that they forced him to go away and to retire to Patna, which he did with about three hundred Europeans and two hundred *sepoys* who had joined him from time to time.

As soon as the English had overcome this difficulty they made every effort to put their projects in execution. The whole *Darbar* was bought over, and the leading *jamadars* engaged not to allow their soldiers to fight. The Seths were admitted to the conspiracy. Mir Jafar, one of the chief *jamadars*, was chosen to replace Siraj-ud daula and to become Nawab, and promised for his part to fulfil the conditions of the treaty made in February, and in consequence to pay three hundred *lakhs*, partly to recoup the Company and the English for their losses and

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expenses, and partly as a gratuity to the army and navy. He promised besides, and in full sovereignty, five hundred *toises* of land outside the ancient limits of Calcutta, and, subject to certain rents, all the villages [*aldées*] from Calcutta to Culpee. I am told he engaged to prevent the French from ever settling again on the Ganges and to drive away the Danes. These arrangements made, the English set out for Murshidabad with 1,300 Europeans and 3,500 *sepoys*.

Never was a conspiracy conducted so publicly and with equal indiscretion on the part of the English and the Moors. Nothing else was talked about in all their Settlements, and what will surprise you is that, whilst every place echoed with the noise of it, the Nawab, who had a number of spies, was ignorant of everything. Nothing can prove more clearly the general hatred which was felt for him. In fact it needed a Frenchman to drag him from this state of security, and to inform him of the danger he was running. This Frenchman was M. Sinfray whom M. Law, on his departure, had left in the Factory at Cassimbazar. It was only by his importunity, and after being several times refused, that he managed to obtain an audience in which he told the Nawab what was passing and the treason of the majority of his people. On this news the Nawab recalled M. Law who had been all along at Patna in all haste. Instead of arresting Mir Jafar and ridding himself of him, whether because he was a relation or because he feared a general revolt of his troops, he contented himself with making him take a new oath of fidelity on the Koran, and even left him the body of troops of which he was *jamadar*. After which, to complete his imprudence, instead of prolonging the war so as to give M. Law time to join him, he advanced to meet the English who were marching very cautiously, and were encamped in a great wood at Plassey, two days' journey from Murshidabad. It was there that was fought the battle of the 23rd June, which the Nawab lost by the treason of his *jamadars*. He was forced to flee.

After this victory, Colonel Clive, seeing no more enemies to oppose him, united with the rebels, marched to Muxadavad and had Mir Jafar proclaimed *Subahdar* of Bengal. All the great lords came to pay him their homage. The new Nawab immediately sent troops in pursuit of Siraj-ud daula, and orders on all sides to prevent his escape. His measures were so well taken that the wretched Prince was arrested and brought back to Muxadavad where he was assassinated a few days after by the son of Mir Jafar. This was the end of a man, who a year before

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made all the [European] nations established in the dominions tremble, and who had reduced the English to the lowest degradation. It is true he deserved such a cruel death only too well, because of the violences and cruelties which he had committed, but his destruction has been a loss to us by the effect which it had on our affairs and by the advantages which it brought to our enemies.

We were still at Calcutta when we heard the news of this astonishing revolution, which came at the same time as our liberation and an acknowledgment of the injustice of the violence which had been committed against us.

M. Law, who, according to the first news, had marched to the succour of the Nawab, having heard of his defeat and flight on the way, immediately retraced his road with as much diligence as he had used in coming. The English on arriving at Muxadavad sent a strong detachment to pursue him. The Nawab of Patna received orders to oppose his passage, but he did not find himself strong enough to obey these orders, and the others could not come up with him. It is said he has retired to Benares, in the dominions of the son of Mansur Ali Khan, and that he has been welcomed by that Prince. If one can judge by the manifest anxiety of the English it would appear that M. Law is not remaining idle in that country.

80. *Translation of extracts from a letter from M. Renault to M. the Marquis Dupleix, dated Chandernagore, 30 September, 1757.*[1]

SIR,—Thinking I should have been able to get one of my letters to you by an English ship which sailed in September I had the honour to write to you on the 4th of this month to inform you of the catastrophe which has befallen this Establishment, but the person who promised to take charge of this letter has refused through fear lest, if discovered, he should compromise himself with the English. I send it you with this, Sir, and though I do not enter into all the details demanded by a misfortune of this nature, I think nevertheless I say enough to leave nothing untold which you would desire to know regarding the principal circumstances of this event.

The duplicate of the letter which you did me the honour to write on the 10th February, 1756, arrived later [? than the capture of Chandernagore]. I have not received the first despatch. I cannot express

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., Paris.

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the satisfaction it gives me to observe the sentiments of kindness which you are so good as to continue towards me.

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My son Renault who was in the army of Golconda, having been included in a detachment of the army which M. Bussy destined for the garrison of Masulipatam, found himself reduced to his mere pay, and as he was not able to live in that place in a way becoming an officer, I obtained leave for him to come here, where I had the satisfaction to see him distinguish himself in the siege of this place and bear himself with the utmost coolness in the most dangerous circumstances. His elder brother, though only a volunteer, has none the less shown himself brave and courageous; both made themselves admired, and with the sentiments of honour and probity which they profess, I hope that the Company will recognize their services and will not neglect their promotion.

When I took charge of the Factory of Chandernagore it was in debt to the extent of 26 or 27 *lakhs*. I had flattered myself the year following M. de Leyrit's departure that the Company, well informed of the state of affairs in India, would have sent money, not merely to buy cargoes for the three ships which it despatched here but also to pay our debts. I saw with the greatest grief that, in spite of the necessity which the Company itself acknowledged, it had not sent more than half of what was necessary both for our expenses and for the commerce of this very year. This want of funds caused me the more embarrassment as our credit was entirely exhausted and confidence in us was lost. However, wishing to give the Company proofs of my zeal, I exerted myself to such an extent that I restored confidence and sent back the ships with rich cargoes. I do not know what the Company will think of the success of my operations, but I can say this, that if I had not been as well known as I am, the country people who, in consideration for me consented to make new engagements, would not have done so and the ships would have gone away only half laden.

Last year the ship *Saint Contest* was the only one which brought money. It brought 300,000 rupees which served to pay the Nawab the contribution which he imposed on us in June 1756. This vessel, not having been despatched owing to the war, was sunk on the eve of the attack on our Fort by the English so as not to let it fall into their hands, and has been lost.

I will not enter, Sir, on any of the reflections which you are so good as to make on the regulation of our affairs in India by the Company—

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besides what I could say would teach you nothing; now the only question is to find means to repair the great evil that has happened. I will only add that the Company ought to feel bitterly how mistaken it has been in not seconding our efforts. It would have spared itself immense expenses and would probably not have lost this Establishment. What a difference for the Company and for this Settlement! What now will be the results [of its indifference]? I shudder when I think of them.

* * * * *

I have had the honour to inform you that I had succeeded in obtaining the establishment of the Danes in Bengal, and they seem very well satisfied with my efforts towards that end. M. Souetman, their Director, either from gratitude or from attachment to the French, has given the most striking marks of this by the manner in which he has received the French who retired to his Settlement in the state of misery to which the capture of Pondicherry reduced them. Very different were the Dutch at Chinsurah, who, though they gave us shelter, showed by their extraordinary behaviour they were much more hostile to us than were the English.

81. *Translation of an extract from a letter from M. Fournier to M. the Marquis Dupleix, dated Chandernagore, 3 November, 1757.*

Sir,—I had the honour to write to you on the 18th January of this year and to notify briefly the success of the English over the Moors when they retook their colony of Calcutta.

The Nawab who arrived in the neighbourhood of Tribeni shortly after the retreat of the English from Hugli, passed his army across the Ganges, marched towards Calcutta and encamped two leagues from that place, but with so little order that the English made a sortie in the night and forced him to retire. He fixed his camp two leagues further off and, in that position, he decided next day to enter upon negotiations with the enemy, who, profiting by the fear created by their advantage over an army which ought to have dictated terms to them and would have done so for a certainty if some of the principal officers had not been discontented, demanded much more than they expected to have granted; this however, with very small exceptions, was granted, so great was the fear which had seized the mind of the Nawab. The treaty concluded, that Prince withdrew hurriedly to Muxadavad.

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The English, having nothing more to fear from him and being acquainted with the discontent of the principal chiefs of his army, thought they could attack our Colony without any opposition from him, and accordingly made their arrangements. We had long thought that, if they got the advantage over the Nawab, they would keep no terms with him and would act against us as much as circumstances allowed them. These considerations made us propose a treaty of neutrality before they came to blows with the Nawab, but this could not be concluded on the conditions by which they wished to bind us. We however returned to the charge after the retreat of the Nawab, thinking we should find them more favourably disposed than before. And as a matter of fact we should have succeeded had it not been for a reinforcement of five hundred men who arrived from Bombay just as we had finished drawing up the Articles of the Treaty, for which the Council had deputed me to the Admiral and the Council of Calcutta; the Admiral had even given me a formal promise, before he discussed the matter with the Secret Committee[1] of which he was not a member, that he would sign the treaty when we had settled on the Articles. But this reinforcement arrived, unfortunately for us, before the ratification of this document; their disposition changed, and we thought only of defending our Settlement to the best of our power.

A few days after, that is on the 14th of last March, the English army composed of about four thousand men, Europeans and *sepoys*, attacked us and bombarded us night and day till the morning of the 23rd without troubling us very much. It would indeed have had great difficulty in reducing us to surrender had not the three largest vessels of Admiral Watson's squadron joined in the fight, but these three vessels, coming broadside on at 6 a.m. on the 23rd at half musket shot from the Factory, we could not hold out against artillery of their weight for more than about three hours and a half when, our bastions being on the point of crumbling into dust, we capitulated and the same day gave up the place.

It is, Sir, a great misfortune for the Company and for the inhabitants of the Colony that the gentlemen of Pondicherry were unable to furnish us with the succours which we asked for repeatedly ever since the beginning of the revolutions; for it is certain that if those gentlemen could have sent us four or five hundred Europeans and as many *sepoys* the English would not have had the boldness to attack us, since, in spite of the knowledge they had of our weakness, they did not seem

[1] i.e., the Select Committee.

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inclined before the arrival of the troops from Bombay to undertake any thing against us, at least so far as we could judge from their disposition at the time of the negotiations for a neutrality; from which fact I think we may conclude that if we had had a stronger and better composed garrison the Settlement of Chandernagore would still be in our possession.

What a difference, Sir, for the Company and for us, whether inhabitants or Company's servants! I lose in this unfortunate catastrophe almost the whole fruit of forty-two years' labour in India, and the little which remains to me, dispersed in different places, is in such hazard that I dare not flatter myself, however short the war, with the hope of saving any of it.

82. *Translation of extracts from an Account of what has happened in Bengal from* 17 *October*, 1756, *to* 22 *January*, 1758.[1]

The English after the loss of Calcutta remained at Ingelie till the arrival of the English fleet under Admiral Watson, which entered the Ganges the 17th October 1756 with a landing force of about 4,000 men. The object of these preparations was [to fight] the Nawab, the Sovereign of Bengal, but the Council of Chandernagore always feared they would serve against us if the English succeeded against the Nawab; consequently we made the best preparations we could, but many things were wanting when the English had retaken Calcutta and two Moorish places below, which they captured very easily though the Moors were there in great numbers. The Council then attempted to negotiate with the Admiral for a treaty of neutrality pure and simple between the two nations in the Ganges. The Admiral would not accept neutrality except on condition of an alliance offensive and defensive against the Nawab. It seemed however impossible for us to sacrifice the interests of the French nation, of the Company and of the subordinate Establishments, which would have been the first objects of the Nawab's vengeance. However, the capture of Hugli, a place two leagues above Chandernagore, and the plunder of its neighbourhood frightened the Nawab who adressed himself to the Council to act as mediators for peace between him and his enemies; but this had no success. We had to do with people who felt nothing but their losses and thought of nothing but how to repair them. The Secret Committee[2] at Calcutta wrote to the

[1] Written by one of the French doctors. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. No. 9,363).

[2] i.e., Select Committee.

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Council at Chandernagore that it did not consort with the dignity of the [English] nation to treat with anyone but the Nawab or his Ministers, and in addition said that they were willing to reconsider the question of neutrality. They promised to obtain the Admiral's signature, but all these appearances of [wishing for a] neutrality were only to deceive us and prevent us from joining the Nawab. The Moors then marched on Calcutta. The English covered their Colony with their little army which they placed in an entrenched camp. The Nawab having approached too close was attacked, but repulsed them and drove them back to Calcutta. If the right and left wings of the army of which he commanded the centre had attacked the English, the latter would have been destroyed. The Nawab, who was almost universally hated, fearing still worse on the part of his chief generals, Mir Jafar and Raja Durlabh Ram, who had remained idle during the fight, precipitately made peace with the English, and retired with rage in his heart at the affront which he had received, and firmly determined to avenge himself and to keep none of his promises to the English. He had wished to include us in the treaty but the English constantly refused. The Nawab sent to the Council of Chandernagore the original documents signed by both parties. His confidence in the result was without bounds. If he had followed the wise advice of our Governor he would not have compromised himself, but he was so bewildered with the fear caused him by his secret enemies that he was never capable of vigorous action, and feebleness and timidity ruined him.

The English, alarmed by the Nawab's daily increasing affection for the French, feared an alliance between the Nawab and us. This would have come about but for the vacillating character of the Prince, on which we could not count in spite of all our wish to do so. We excused our reserve towards him by the weakness which did not allow us to undertake anything in conjunction with him without reinforcements and orders from Pondicherry. He demanded nevertheless that the Council should bind itself in writing to oppose the passage of the English past Chandernagore. The alternative he offered did not allow the Council to hesitate. Besides it was merely engaging to defend ourselves against the maritime forces of the English when we undertook to prevent their passing, because Chandernagore was the only place on this Coast against which they could undertake any enterprise by water. This engagement was signed and sent to the Nawab three

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days after he had made peace with the English.[1] The Council received in return two privileges, the one to coin money with the King's stamp at Chandernagore, the other liberty of trade for Frenchmen on the same footing as the Company, and 100,000 rupees on account of the 300,000 which he had extorted the previous year on the occasion of the capture of Calcutta, the remainder payable at the Factory of Cossimbazar on his return to his capital. It was never paid.

These rupees came at a very opportune moment. We did not know where to find money for the garrison, for ordinary expenses, and for preparations for a siege. The Nawab promised the Governor in writing that if he were attacked he would come himself, if it were necessary, at the head of his army. If he had done so he would have saved Chandernagore but this assistance failed us owing to contrary circumstances which will be mentioned later on. The Prince who was then not far from Chandernagore remained in his capital till he had finished what I have just told you. The English flattered us with the hope they would sign the Treaty of neutrality, but at the moment when every one was assembled for that purpose the English received advice in their Council that the reinforcements they were expecting from Bombay had arrived in the Ganges. They received in fact 700 men embarked on three ships armed for fighting. There remained nothing for us to do but to persuade the Nawab, according to the example of his predecessors, to forbid the English committing any acts of hostility in his dominions against any other nations. This expedient did not prove more successful. We prepared ourselves as quickly as possible for the siege which now appeared inevitable. We neglected nothing to make a good defence and to render the efforts of our enemies ineffective, but we foresaw that, if the squadron joined itself to the land force and presented itself before the Fort, we should have to surrender at once. We sent away the women and children whom the Dutch received in their Colony with their property and clothes. The Council published a Manifesto,[2] which I append in the form M. Renault sent it me. The Council then warned the Nawab that Chandernagore was menaced with a speedy siege, and that on the safety of the place depended his own and that of his kingdom. Raja Durlabh Ram was ordered to march with sixteen thousand men, but he marched so slowly and with such little good will that he traversed only five or six leagues out of the thirty he had to march.

[1] As far as I can make out, no actual treaty was signed by the French Council, though the Dutch Chief at Cossinbazar said he had been offered a copy by one of the Nawab's secretaries, if he would pay for it.

[2] I have not been able to find this Manifesto.

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The English army commanded by Colonel Clive passed the river opposite Calcutta about the 3rd March. After several short marches it encamped on the 11th close to our barriers to the south of the Colony. On the 15th the Council seeing the danger approach deliberated on the question of sinking some ships in the south of the Road, in a rather narrow passage, about 800 fathoms from the Fort. We had time to sink only five ships. The Ganges pilots and the people of the Port were so frightened the day of the attack that they were unable to join to them two Company's ships which were pretty large and partly loaded, and which would probably have closed the passage to the ships of war.

Before passing further it is necessary to enter into the details of the garrison. It was composed of about 500 men, of whom 119 were French and 170 *sepoys* from the Coromandel Coast. We formed a company of sixty grenadiers and one of ninety artillerymen. The Company's servants, and some inhabitants and ships' officers formed a company of fifty volunteers.

The 14th in the morning, about 3 o'clock, the English fiercely attacked an outpost which we had been obliged to make for the defence of the town. The officer who commanded it, named Quevalix (?), warned beforehand by his scouts of their approach, sustained the attack bravely throughout the day. The English, it is said, lost 100 men. In the evening, various detachments, which formed the *élite* of the garrison, returned so fatigued that every one was wearied out. After taking in writing the opinions of the officers, the Council deliberated on recalling the outposts. This was done in good order. At 7 o'clock we sent back the 2,000 Moors who had already come to our assistance. This news, quickly transmitted to the Nawab by the Commandant of Hugli whose malice exaggerated everything, gave him to understand that Chandernagore would be taken before his arrival. It was this which prevented the march of the 16,000 men. Thus we found ourselves reduced to our own forces alone. We were not discouraged and we soon got accustomed to seeing bombs and grenades falling around us.

As soon as the enemy had spread themselves through the town they erected three batteries of which two began to fire the same day. I will not undertake to give details of what passed each day during the rest of the siege; I will only report what merits mention.

On the 17th at the approach of night we found on the bastions a number of arrows, round the steel points of which little slips of paper were rolled. On them was written, '*Pardon to deserters who will rejoin their colours, and rewards to officers who will come over to us.*' By good

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luck none of them fell into the hands of the soldiers. One officer, Cæsar de Terraneau, who had lost an arm in the wars on the Madras Coast, picked up some of them and allowed himself to be seduced, for he disappeared that night. His desertion did not fail to disquiet us.

The Council was informed by spies that the Dutch were in connivance with the enemy and aiding them in many ways. This information was circumstantially confirmed some days later. It formed the subject of two protests which we made against the Dutch and which we sent them on the 17th and 20th of the month, and in which we held them responsible for the events which might result from the siege if we were able to prove the facts. The squadron which had left Calcutta on the 14th, anchored on the 18th within sight of the Road. The next day the Admiral wrote to the Governor to summon him, in the name of the King of England, to surrender the place. There were arguments on both sides. The officers persisted in prolonging the defence, though it was seen that it was impossible to save the place. At last the Council resolved that the Governor should make an offer to the Admiral to ransom the place for a certain sum payable by a bill of exchange on the Company at Paris. This proposal he rejected. Meanwhile the squadron was preparing for the attack which was to decide the capture of the Fort or the raising of the siege. It did not advance till the morning of the 23rd. Mr. Pocock, Rear-Admiral, having a ship of 64 guns called the *Tiger*, led the way and placed himself in front of the bastion [of the Pavillon]. Mr. Watson, Vice-Admiral on the *Kent* of 70, anchored in front of the south bastion and the *Salisbury* of 58 followed. Colonel Clive had prepared a force of 1,200 men to make an assault when the attack commenced. Every one was under arms, some to line the ramparts and the rest ready to reinforce the point assaulted. There was on both sides a hellish fire, which lasted from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m. Then, having no more gunners and having 200 men killed without counting the wounded, we hoisted the white flag. The Admiral had 135 shot in his ships and had lost 195 men. The Governor wrote to the Admiral offering to capitulate. The Admiral allowed him only one hour to do so. I append the Capitulation. The place was surrendered in the afternoon. Many disorders were committed in the night. The holy vessels and treasure of the Church were pillaged. About 100 men escaped from the Factory to go and join Mr. Law, Chief of Cossimbazar.

I ought not to omit mentioning here those who distinguished them-

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selves the most. Messieurs Caillot, Nicolas, Picques, Councillors; M. Lavigne, Captain, and his son did wonders. I ought not to forget M. Sinfray who exposed himself more than any one else.

Twenty-four hours after the Capitulation was signed the Colonel presented us with an engagement to sign, by which we promised not to serve directly or indirectly against His Britannic Majesty till we were exchanged or during the present war. Colonel Clive added that no one should leave till he had signed this paper. In fear of worse happening every one signed, without considering the fact that those who were not prisoners of war by the Capitulation were now tying their own hands. This had bad results for the Council, who, thinking themselves free in the same way as the other Company's servants, uselessly protested they were so, for the 14th of April following they were obliged to go to Calcutta. The Council made a protest to the Dutch Council for allowing the English to come and take them at Chinsurah, when the [Dutch] Council had given them the protection of their flag. The Dutch would not interfere in the business. The officer sent by Colonel Clive told M. Renault and the Councillors that if they delayed surrendering themselves he would take them by force.

As a matter of fact Chinsurah was surrounded by 300 men. The Council was taken to Calcutta where they stayed for two months. It was divided between two different houses with a hundred men as a guard. No one was allowed to see them except myself as the doctor, but I was also held in great suspicion. I was for a short time shut up with M. Renault. During the imprisonment of the Council the English laboured at supplanting the Nawab. They succeeded in this by means of an intrigue with Mir Jafar, of whom I have already spoken, and with whom they tampered secretly. M. Law, who had about 300 men who had managed to escape to him, tried to persuade the Nawab to join him and to attack the English, but unfortunately the Nawab, though he thought very highly of M. Law's advice, was prevented by timidity from profiting by it. The English, knowing that if M. Law remained near the Nawab it would be impossible for them to accomplish anything, also urged the Nawab to send him away. The Nawab, thinking he might obtain peace by submitting to this hard condition, begged M. Law to depart with his men, and he went away to Patna. All the Moors who were faithful to their legitimate King bitterly regretted M. Law.

A little time after his departure the English plotted underhand to go and surprise the Nawab. He was not warned of it till four days before they arrived at Muxadavad. The Nawab was, as I have said above (?)

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betrayed after a petty combat — in fact he was supported only by M. Sinfray, who had stayed with him, and his band of about forty men, who maintained the fight for some time. The Nawab, fearing lest M. Sinfray and his party should be sacrificed, sent him word to retire as he himself was betrayed, and that he was coming to join him so that both might escape together. The victorious English came to the capital with Mir Jafar who was recognised as Nawab. In accordance with the treaty which had been made they received a considerable amount on account of about eighty millions in French money which Mir Jafar had agreed to pay. The Nawab was unable to join M. Sinfray. He was taken a few days after and was put to death in his capital on the 3rd July. Thus perished this Prince. As long as the English were unable to resist him, he listened only to the passions which were his masters, and as soon as he found them opposing him he was always frightened and this led to his ruin.

The Council was released from prison on the 16th June with permission to reside in Chandernagore which was in ruins. A little later the Governor received orders to inform all Frenchmen to hold themselves ready to go to Madras in order to pass thence to Pondicherry. The Governor obtained a postponement till January 1758 for himself and for all married persons.

M. Law had separated from the Nawab as I have said above. When the Nawab was warned of the arrival of the English he was at Patna with about nine hundred men who had joined him at different times. The Nawab sent messengers on camels one after the other to bring him and his troops. At the first notice M. Law marched to his assistance, but, learning the Nawab's defeat on the road, he retraced his steps as quickly as he had come. The English sent a large detachment in pursuit of him, and made the new Nawab write to the Nawab of Patna to oppose his passage. Whether the latter was not in a condition to stop him, or because he liked him, for M. Law is universally liked, or because he was afraid of him, one does not know positively what has happened to him, but one presumes that he has retired with his people to Benares, some days distant from Patna under the rule of the son of Shuja-uddaula. If one may judge from the continual anxiety of the English, it would appear that M. Law does not remain idle in that country.

M. Courtin, Chief of the Dacca Factory, left it on the 22nd June, with the Company's servants and a small force. Having heard on the road of the Nawab's misfortune he turned back, and it is supposed he has taken refuge in the east of the Province of Dacca, in the kingdom

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of Assam, which borders on Cochin China. The Chief of Balasore was taken ten or twelve days after the siege of Chandernagore.

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The English forced the Nawab to pay the remainder of what he owed them, which he has done in full. Every one has had as much as three quarters of what he lost. The captains have each received thirty thousand rupees, the lieutenants twenty-four and the ensigns eighteen, the soldiers and sailors in proportion. They were for some time in great difficulty how to dispose of their money, but the Dutch, always disposed to oblige them, have taken the money on bills of exchange, payable in Britain and in Europe.

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After the news came of the arrival of our squadron the English had all the warehouses in Chandernagore destroyed as well as all the bastions. They even blew up a part of each bastion. They then made over the ruined Fort and the Colony to the Moors who were in possession of it when I left.

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The accounts (*chiffres*) of the Company were taken, three or four months after the capture of Chandernagore, to Cossimbazar and have been saved.

83. *Translation of extracts from a letter which appears to have been written by M. Law, concerning the affairs of Bengal, 9 February, 1758.*[1]

Since my letter of the 25th January I have had an opportunity of seeing our gentlemen from Bengal. I have gathered from them certain particulars which you will be glad to hear.

However favourable the disposition of the Nawab, who has just been killed, towards us, we have not much reason to regret him. From his accession to the throne he had shown his real intention regarding the European nations, all of whom he wished to reduce to the footing of the Armenians—*i.e.*, to make them the absolute slaves of his caprices. He was besides a person who had only the figure and none of the sentiments of a human being: cruel for the mere pleasure of being so, extravagant in his humours and fantasies, consulting neither prudence nor his own interest in doing what he wished, and moreover so selfish

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale. As M. Law is himself referred to lower down, it is clear that he was not the author of this letter. It must have been written by some person in Pondicherry, possibly M. Law's younger brother, who had just met the prisoners sent thither from Bengal by the English.

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as to shrink from no injustice in order to satisfy his cupidity when any object had excited it.

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There are more than 100 Frenchmen actually at Chinsura, of whom some fifty are very determined men. It is essential that our squadron should arrive there soon so as to save them by making the fear, which the neighbourhood of our forces has inspired in the Dutch, prevail over that which the English will try and instil into their minds.

M. Courtin, it is said, has the road open to join M. Law, to whom however he cannot bring many men his people having gone on ahead.[1] If M. Law had been at Chandernagore, especially if he had been Chief, perhaps we should still be masters of it; at least his present behaviour gives reason to suppose so.

Since they have razed the Fort there have been no English at Chandernagore. They have given over the town to the Moors, who have established themselves in the houses of the French. They may have had two reasons for taking this course: one, to re-unite all their forces at Calcutta, the other to prevent the restoration of Chandernagore being included in any negotiation with us, and to compel us to alienate the Moors by using force against them to enable us to re-enter it: they will find themselves deceived in this point if people's minds remain in the same disposition as they are now. All the Moors and Indians sigh for our re-establishment.

Clive and his little army are at Murshidabad in order to hasten the payment of what the Nawab still owes. It is said that there has been a secret negotiation to give him a quittance for the 150 *lakhs* he owes to the Company on condition that he will pay 30 *lakhs* to the Council at Calcutta. The secret got wind and the plot failed. If however what people say is true, Clive is neither at his ease nor in safety. Some of the *jamadars*, commanding five and six thousand horse have already begun to quarrel with him, and he avoided the danger that threatened him only by hiding himself under a gun carriage. I do not guarantee the truth of stories of this kind but they serve at least to show what is said and what people think in the country.

It is true that the neutrality between the two nations was concluded before the seige of Chandernagore; all that remained to be done was the exchange of ratifications by the two Councils. The English having changed their minds on the arrival of the re-inforcements from Bombay, our gentlemen at Chandernagore proposed to ransom themselves and

[1] An officer and twenty men had been sent to M. Law at Cossimbazar.

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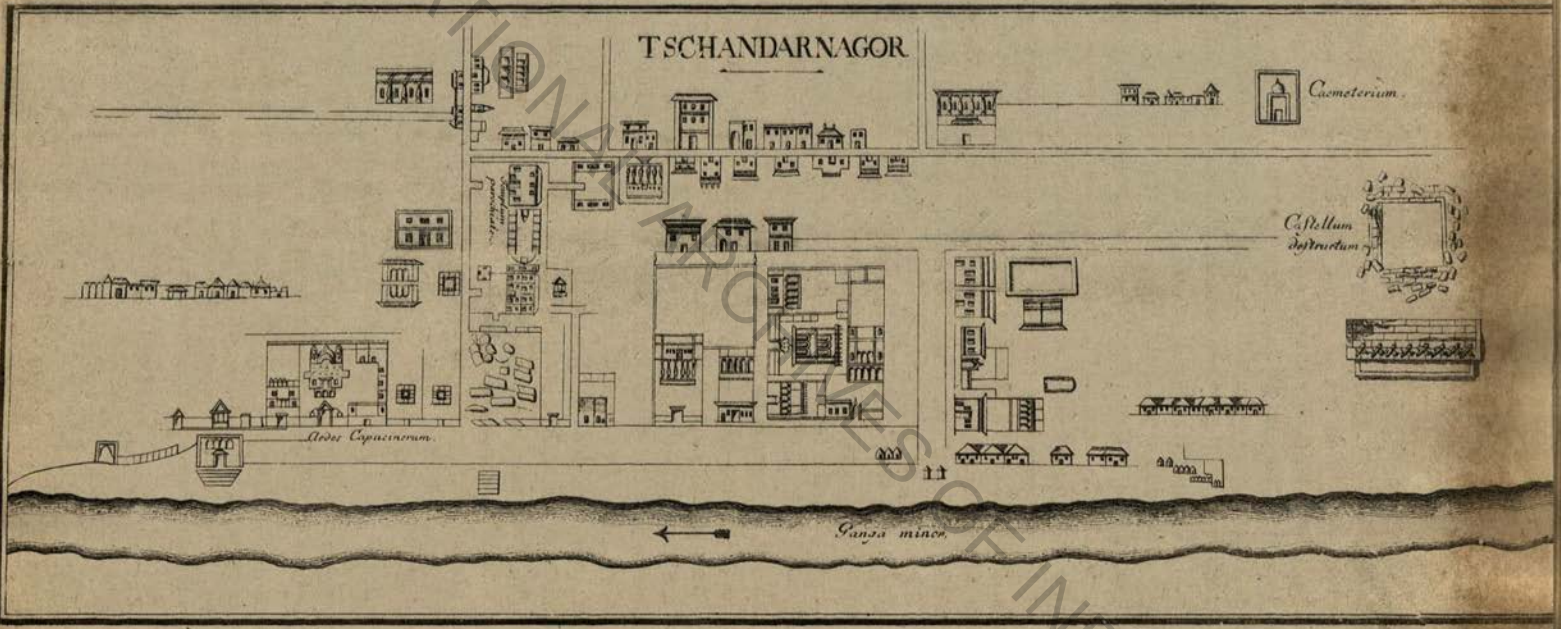

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they would have done so at whatever price the ransom had been fixed provided anything had remained to them. That mode of agreement could not possibly suit the taste of the English. The profit enjoyed by a conqueror is always too liquid and clear [*ie.* too superior to that gained by negotiation or agreement]. It was rejected, and the Council of Chandernagore had no other resource except to surrender on the best conditions it could obtain from the generosity of its enemy.

This course was so firmly resolved upon that they gave no thought to defending themselves. The military insisted only on firing a single discharge, which they desired the Council would grant them. It was only the Marine and the citizens, who, though they had no vote in the Council, cried out tumultuously that the Fort must be defended. A plot was formed to prevent the Director's son who was ready to carry the keys of the town to the English camp from going out. Meanwhile some one fired a musket, the English thought it was the reply to their summons. They began on their side to fire their artillery, and that was how a defence which lasted ten whole days was begun. On the eleventh day the English ships having approached to bombard [the Fort] on the river side, the firing, which lasted for two hours incessantly on that side, wore out the patience of the besieged, some of whom nevertheless including certain gentlemen of the Council showed much firmness in the posts they had taken. One half hour more of obstinacy would, so people pretend, have saved them. The river was sinking with the ebb; in a short time the lower decks of the English ships would have been useless, and the ships could have been destroyed; but these reflections only came after everything was over. You will conclude from this, Sir, that it needed for the safety of the French Colony only a man of brains and authority, in whose experience people would have placed sufficient confidence to submit to the course he thought wise to take and the means he chose for executing his plans.

I have the honour, &c. &c. (*not signed*).

84. *Translation of a letter from M. Renault to the Superior Council at Pondicherry. Dated Pondicherry, 26 October, 1758.*[1]

GENTLEMEN,—The imprisonment at Calcutta of the Council of Chandernagore and the dispersion of several of its members having

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., Paris. There exist several letters from Renault to other persons modelled upon this, but as this is signed by Renault, gives most details, and seems to be his latest account, I give it in full, and add passages here and there where the other letters contain some detail which it omits.

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rendered it impossible for the Council to give you an account of what has passed in Bengal, I have the honour now, Gentlemen, to describe the siege of Chandernagore in detail with a *précis* of the revolutions in Bengal which preceded and followed it, in order that you may be fully instructed as to our behaviour.[1]

The death of Aliverdikhan, Nawab of Bengal, which happened in March, 1756, may be regarded as the starting-point of the troubles in this kingdom. The chief lords, no longer restrained by the fear of the old Nawab whom they saw approaching his end, and fearing the ferocious and cruel character of Siraj-uddaula, his successor, had conspired against him; but the latter was so fortunate as to surprise and entirely disperse this faction. Some of the rebels who escaped took refuge with their wealth with the English; and it was the refusal of the English to surrender these that caused them to be driven in the space of a month from all their Establishments and obliged in the month of June to escape in their vessels and seek a place of refuge at the mouth of the Ganges, where they had to suffer all kinds of miseries, until the arrival of the English squadron; and during more than three weeks their town of Calcutta lay a prey to the greed and fury of the soldiers.

The Moors swollen with pride over their recent conquest left everywhere marks of an unheard-of cruelty. The other nations, whose only crime was to belong, like the English, to Europe, were obliged, in order to protect their Settlements from a fate as dreadful as that of Calcutta, to pay immense contributions. It cost our Company nearly 400,000 rupees.

The Council and I had the honour of informing you of this sinister event, the crisis undergone by the Factory at Chandernagore, and we drew you, gentlemen, the most touching picture of our situation, and, in repeated letters, we used only the strongest and most urgent terms to show the absolute necessity of sending us succours in men and money which might place the Factory in safety against similar misfortunes.

[1] For this paragraph Renault, in his letter of March 10, 1758, to Monseigneur de Moras, Minister and Secretary of State for the Marine and Controller-General, substitutes the following:—

'My Lord,—The loss of the principal settlement of the Company in Bengal appears to be an event too interesting for me not to collect here, under a single point of view, the different events which brought it about. I shall have, my lord, the honour to tender you at the same time an account of my conduct and of the violences which our nation has been forced to suffer at the hands of the English after the capture of Fort d'Orleans, at Chandernagore.'

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We received 167 *sepoys* and a detachment of 61 Europeans, of whom 45 were pensioners unfit for service, and who, joined to the 85 white soldiers whom we then had, made 146 men. We expected every day to hear that war was declared against England, and a considerable force was being collected at Madras to retake Calcutta.

Full of these anxieties, I was, Gentlemen, in an embarassment all the more cruel, because of two alternatives I did not even know which to desire; a lively resentment at the tyranny of the Nawab and the excesses in which he indulged against Europeans made me long for the arrival of the English in the Ganges to take vengeance for them, but at the same time I feared their arrival because of the possible results of a declaration of war. In all his letters M. de Leyrit repeated the same orders *viz.* to fortify Chandernagore as best I could, and to put my Establishment in safety against a sudden assault, but one has only to look at Chandernagore to see, in the dearth of men and money in which we were, how many were the difficulties in the way of fortifying and making safe against a sudden assault a colony open on all sides, with nothing to mark it off from the surrounding open country.

The Fort of Orleans, situated almost in the middle and surrounded by houses which command it, was a square of 100 fathoms,[1] built of bricks, flanked with four bastions of 16 guns, without outworks, ramparts or glaçis. The south curtain, which was about 4 feet thick, raised only to the cordon, was provided only with a platform for three guns; it had also to the west a platform for three guns, but the rest of this curtain, as well as that of the north, was only a wall of earth and brick, a foot and a half thick and 18 feet high; and warehouses lined the east curtain which faces the Ganges and which we were still working at. All this side had no ditch and that which surrounded the other sides was dry, about four feet deep, and properly speaking nothing but a ravine. The fortifications of the Fort up to the cordon were 15 feet high, and the houses which commanded it from the edge of the counterscarp within musket range, had a height of 30 feet.

I had the good fortune, nevertheless, in spite of all obstacles, the Nawab's prohibition of all work on any fortification and the emptiness of our cash chest, to finish the west curtain with a great warehouse behind, the parapet of the south curtain and a part of an inner wall intended to hold up the earth with which I intended to terrace it, and to finish building the curtain facing the Ganges. I gave also every

[1] 100 toises. The toise = 70,864 inches.

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attention to the artillery, all the carriages of which I had to renew, not a single one being serviceable.

But all these preparations at which we were still working when the English squadron arrived in the Ganges with 3,000 troops on board, including 1,500 *sepoys*, to whom were added more than 500 Europeans who were at the mouth of the Ganges, were nothing compared with what remained to be done when we considered the advantages gained by the squadron over the Moors by the capture of the fortresses of Budge Budge, Makwa Tana, and on the 2nd January of the town of Calcutta, whence the enemy [*i.e.* the English] could fall upon us at any moment owing to their proximity to Chandernagore. The Council, informed by letters from M. Verrier from Surat that England had declared war against France, thought that in such critical circumstances the consideration, which we had hitherto been forced to pay to the wishes of the [native] Government in not working at the outerworks of the Fort, ought to give way to the indispensable necessity of putting ourselves in a state of defence. In consequence of our deliberations I began to pull down the Church and the house of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, situated on the edge of the Ditch, as well as all the houses of private persons which masked the whole length of the north curtain. The wood taken from the débris served as palisades for a screen which ran from one bastion to another to protect this same northern curtain which was falling down from mere age. I also had built before the Porte Royale, the weakest side of the Fort, a platform on which we put 3 guns, and we worked at digging out and enlarging the ditch, but had not time to put it in a condition to serve for the defence of the place. A warehouse for goods, on which I had put bales of *gunny*[1] to prevent the bombs breaking the vaults, served it as a casemate.

[*In the necessity in which I was to do all this work, and many others of which I shall have occasion to speak below, I must inform you, Sir, that I was in no small embarrassment for want of a person to whom I could confide their construction. The person who exercised the functions of engineer, sent from France as a master mason, having not the faintest tincture of engineering.*][2]

Our garrison finding itself increased by deserters from the English, I made a Company of Grenadiers of 50 men, one of artillery of 30, and

[1] A fibre used for rough materials like sacking. The Americans used bales of cotton to protect themselves against the rifle-fire of the English in the first battles of their War of Independence.

[2] Added from a letter from Renault to the Sindics and Directors-General of the Company, dated Chandernagore, November 2, 1757.

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one of Marine of 60 sailors, to whom I gave a little higher pay than usual to excite their emulation. To get the utmost possible advantage from the good will of the young people of this Settlement, *i.e.* the Company's servants, the ships' officers, supercargoes and European inhabitants, I formed from them a company of volunteers [*to whom I gave, at their request, my son who was an officer of the garrison, as their captain.*][1]

In the midst of these military occupations I did not neglect to try the effect of negotiation. Immediately on the arrival of the squadron at Calcutta two deputies were sent to learn from Mr. Watson, Vice-Admiral, if, according to the custom followed till then, the English would observe the neutrality of the Ganges, and at the same time proposed to him to make a treaty, which proposal was rejected after some days. We were much inclined at this refusal to commit the first acts of hostility, but the Council, restrained by our weakness and by the fear of results, did not dare to go to such extremities without orders, and determined, without remaining absolutely idle, to see in what fashion the war between the English and Moors would terminate.

The English, with a frigate and some small vessels loaded with men, took possession of the town of Hugli, situated a league above Chandernagore, reduced it and its neighbourhood to ashes, and twelve days later withdrew to Calcutta followed by the army of the Nawab. That prince up to this time had regarded the enterprises of his enemies with indifference, and, doubtless fearing at this moment the results of an engagement with them, or overcome by the solicitations of his Ministers, thought he could not do better than to try to come to terms by the mediation of the French. Towards the end of January he wrote to me to this effect asking me to sound the English as to their pretentions. This commission was accepted with all the more pleasure that with the hope of pacifying the troubles, the consequences of which were bound soon or late to be reflected upon us, we hoped that the neutrality in the Ganges and a promise from the English in no way to infringe it would be one of the principal clauses of the treaty, but all these hopes soon vanished with the insulting refusal of the Council at Calcutta to accept our mediation or to admit us to any treaty of peace which might be made between them and the Nawab.

After this proceeding, all the more offensive because they pretended to try and renew the negotiation for neutrality in order to make us suspected by the Government, it seemed we had no other course left

[1] See note 2, p. 268.

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but to unite ourselves to their enemies, seeing that they had so little consideration for us. But however logical this reasoning, it did not increase our strength and a new reason prevented me from adopting this course; this was a letter from M. de Leyrit, of the 28th November, received at this moment, which, whilst informing me of the capture of the Company's ship *L'Indien* on the Malabar Coast, bade me note that the war was purely maritime, the minister allowing, for the present, only ships to attack or make captures, and that his intention was that we should not attack the English by land unless they attacked us first.

We were thus obliged to remain in the position in which we had been from the beginning of these troubles, from the continuance of which we derived no advantage except that of continuing our works, which, in spite of all my efforts, did not go on anything like so fast as I desired, for want of black workmen whom the neighbourhood of the two armies frightened away. The ships of war being, in case of a siege, what we had most to fear from, we erected close to the Ganges a battery of six guns, of which four defended the entry to the harbour. From the foot of this battery was begun a screen 22 feet thick running from the river to the Fort to protect the whole of the curtain on this side from the fire of the ships, but it could not be finished the Settlement also needing attention. It was decided whilst we were working at all the above mentioned defences to try and put the Settlement in safety against a surprise as it was not possible to do anything better. Consequently we barred all the streets with ditches and barricades, at which we established guards.

In the very midst of this work, the English, who had been face to face with the Nawab for some days, attacked his camp early in the morning with all their troops reinforced by the crews of the ships. Although they surprised the Moors they did not get by any means all the advantage they hoped from this combat, for, being unable to stand against a part of his army which Siraj-uddaula had rallied, they were obliged to give ground, too happy, with a loss of more than 200 men, to be able to put themselves promptly under the protection of the guns of their Fort.

However unfavourable this action was to the English, as they had killed many people in attacking the quarter of the camp-followers, the ministers of the Nawab, most of whom were devoted to the English and desired only peace, profited by this opportunity to persuade him to it. Forced by the mutinous behaviour of his generals and in fear of an

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invasion of the Pathans, he found himself at last obliged, contrary to his wishes, to make peace on extremely hard conditions.

The Nawab, during his retreat, sent me all possible assurances of his friendship with the most favourable *parwanas* and privileges and one hundred thousand rupees on account of what he had extorted from us and which he promised to repay. By means of this *lakh* I found myself in a position to buy the food and munitions of war which we needed for the siege. This money could not have come more opportunely, as I was at my wits end to find money with which to pay my troops.

The Nawab's envoy further gave me to understand that he was, at heart, enraged with the English and continued to regard them as his enemies; in spite of which we saw clearly from the agreement just made that we should be the victims; and, knowing Siruj-uddaula, his promise to support me strongly against them if they attacked us did not quiet my mind. I prepared for whatever might happen by pressing on our preparations and collecting provisions of all kinds in the Fort.

At the same time I eagerly seized the overtures made me to renew our first negotiations. Messieurs Fournier and Nicolas, Councillors, went to Calcutta. At first everything appeared to go according to our wishes; we agreed on the form of the Articles of the treaty; the draft was prepared and ready for signature; however this third deputation had no better success than the others, and the Admiral, who had promised to ratify this treaty, withdrew his promise at the news of the arrival that very day of a new reinforcement of more than 1,000 men of the regular troops and 400 *sepoys*, who had come in three vessels from Bombay and in the *Cumberland* of 80 guns from Madras.

After a few days the English, with this fresh reinforcement, began their march in our direction under pretence of going to join the Nawab against the Pathans who appeared to threaten Bengal with an invasion. They had marched for two days along the bounds of our Settlement without entering it, when, on the 14th March at three a.m., a patrol saw the van of the English army advancing rapidly towards a little earthwork to the south of the Fort which barred three roads leading into the open country, on each of which it had a gun pointed. I immediately sent 50 grenadiers to support this outpost and to encourage the *sepoys* and the Moors who were stationed on the flat roofs of the neighbouring houses; but these Moors, who were part of the two thousand whom the Nawab had left at my orders in case the English should attack me and whom I had posted on all the neighbouring houses in the Settle-

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ment, all took to flight at the first discharges and did not reappear during the whole day. Nevertheless the attention which we paid at this moment to the movements of the enemy hindered them from taking any advantage of the gap [left by the Moors]. At 9 o'clock the firing growing heavier 30 men of the artillery were sent there with a *pièce-à-minute*.[1] At 10 o'clock the English set fire to the houses of the Settlement, so, fearing that they would try to take advantage of this disorder, I sent out 30 volunteers to assist wherever the defenders were hard pressed. Almost at the same moment we were attacked at several points and the outwork so strongly pressed that I was forced to send 60 sailors there. In this way we kept our ground in the Settlement against all the English troops up to 7 p.m. when the firing ceased on both sides, but all the troops in the Fort, harassed by the long and wearying attack made in the greatest heat[2] and in the midst of a conflagration which lasted for the rest of the day, not being able to sustain a fresh attack with the same vigour, I determined to withdraw the outposts, and with the more reason because we found that the enemy under cover of the darkness had crept into some houses from which they could take one of our outposts in the rear. The loss of this would have occasioned that of seven others in the Settlement by the ease with which they would have cut off their communication with the Fort, and the troops which already consisted of three-quarters of our garrison could not during the night, at so great a distance, be relieved from the Fort without putting the latter in danger. The outposts were therefore abandoned at 9 p.m. and each retired in good order, after having spiked such of the guns as they could not bring back with them.

All our forces being reunited in the Fort numbered

237 soldiers, including 45 French pensioners and the sick.

120 sailors.

70 half-castes and private Europeans residents in the Settlement.

100 individuals, as Councillors, Company's servants, officers of the Indiamen, and other principal inhabitants.

167 *sepoys*.

100 *topasses*.

As for the Moorish troops we did not hesitate after the manner they had behaved the previous day to dismiss them. [*The enemy made considerable booty in the Settlement, the ladies of which had taken refuge with*

[1] An adaptation of a Swedish gun, which was so great an improvement upon earlier field-pieces that it could fire ten shots a minute.

[2] In Bengal the middle of March is generally extremely hot in the daytime.

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the Dutch some time before, and began to establish themselves in a number of houses which still remained to the south and east within musket range of the Fort.][1]

On the 15th the English troops established themselves in the Settlement, and the same day set themselves to dislodge with three guns raised on the flat roof [platform] of the Clock Tower the musketeers stationed on the buildings which commanded the interior of the Fort.

On the night of the 15th to 16th they began to send us bombs and many royal grenades, which did some damage.

On the 17th a battery of three 32-pounders, erected on the bank of the Ganges, within musket shot of the Fort, commenced firing early in the morning against the side of the east bastion and was dismounted the same day.

On the 18th we discovered that the English were at work, in a house within pistol shot opposite, to the southern bastion erecting another battery of five guns of the same calibre. That on the bank of the Ganges which they had re-established during the night was dismounted a second time.

Whilst we were engaged in destroying these batteries with our guns the English squadron appeared. It was composed of the *Kent*, 70 guns, commanded by Admiral Watson, the *Tiger* of 66, the *Salisbury* of 56, the *Protector* of 40, the *Bridgewater* of 24 and another Company's ship, which with the two last had preceded the Admiral. It anchored the same day within cannon range of the Fort.

Next day the Vice-Admiral informed me that England had declared war against France and summoned me to surrender the place to him.

Not having had time to fortify the Fort completely on the river side, and having equal cause to fear from the depth of the water in the place where the vessels were sunk in the narrowest point of the Road that the English men-of-war (the fire of which I foresaw we could not resist) would come and anchor broadside on to the Fort, I determined to write to the Vice-Admiral and try to persuade him to content himself with a ransom. Mr. Watson refused this offer, always insisting that I should give up the Fort, though promising, it is true, to leave to the inhabitants the enjoyment of their property. The fact that he insisted upon conditions so unfavourable to the Company when the land force had obtained such slight advantages was our reason for the recommencement of hostilities.

When the English army left Calcutta to come towards Chandernagore

[1] Renault's letter of November 2, 1757.

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I had written to M. Law, Chief of Cossimbazar, to remind Siraj-uddaula of his promise to help us in case the English should attack us, and to press him to carry it out. The Chief, in spite of the difficulties put every moment in his way by the Council of Siraj-uddaula which had been gained over by the English, managed by great efforts to obtain the despatch of several *jamadars* at the head of about 15,000 men, to whom were joined all the European soldiers he could get together, under the command of a French officer returning from Patna. But Mr. Clive, commander of the land force, having written to the Nawab the very day he attacked us that he was going to withdraw and leave the country tranquil as he did not wish to make war on the French, the Prince, deceived by this assurance, recalled the troops immediately, and when he was disabused of his mistake the obstacles which the generals, gained over by the English, put in the way of the execution of his orders prevented our profiting by his good will [towards us].

My object in trying to treat with the Admiral was to gain as much time as possible by dragging out the negotiations, without however letting slip the chance of ransoming the place if I could not do otherwise, but this did not succeed. The artifice employed by the enemy to deprive us of the assistance of the Nawab was not the only one they used against us. During the siege, by means of arrows, they threw a number of letters into the place offering pardon to all deserters who would go back to them, rewards to other soldiers, and promises to give officers the same rank which they held in our service and also a reward proportionate to their deserts.

Cossart de Terraneau, Sub-Lieutenant of this garrison, who had lost an arm in the wars on the [Madras] Coast in the service of France, and who commanded the artillery, deserted to the enemy on the evening of the 19th, and the same night by the improved direction of the besiegers' bombs, I had no doubt that he had done us a bad service.

On the 20th the enemy's fire was livelier than usual, but we managed to prevent them making use of their batteries.

The night of the 20th to 21st I ordered 50 soldiers with a detachment of *sepoys* and some sailors to spike the besiegers' guns, but owing to the report made by the spies whom I had sent out to see what the enemy were doing, this sortie, which could only be as successful as we wished if the enemy were taken by surprise, did not take place.

On the 21st the battery on the bank of the Ganges was attacked before day-break and the English repulsed with loss. We took some prisoners.

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Several persons belonging to our nation, who were in the Dutch Settlement, sent me warning to distrust the foreigners who were in the place.

The 22nd passed like the preceding days, on the part of the enemy in throwing bombs and profiting by the advantage given them by the height and proximity of the houses, and on ours in hindering the advance of their field works. Up to this day they had sent us 2,000 bombs and royal grenades.

The 23rd at 6 a.m. the squadron, seeing the little success of the land force in spite of all its efforts, set sail and the three largest vessels by the aid of a good wind came swiftly broadside on to our Fort within musket range. Then the troops in the battery on the bank of the Ganges, who had so far fired only one discharge, suddenly found themselves overwhelmed by the fire from the tops of the ships, abandoned the battery and had much difficulty in gaining the Fort. The ship *Tiger* placed herself before the bastion du Pavillon, the *Kent* before the middle of the curtain and the *Salisbury* a little lower down. Fourteen guns of 8, 12 and 18 pounds were all we could oppose to them.

I immediately sent the company of grenadiers with a detachment of the artillery as a reinforcement to the south bastion and the bastion du Pavillon, which face the Ganges; but these troops, under the fire of the ships joined to that of the land batteries rebuilt the same night and of more than three thousand men placed on the roofs of the houses which overlooked the Fort, almost all took flight, leaving two of their officers behind, one dead and the other wounded. I was obliged to send there, immediately and in succession, all the Marine and the inhabitants from the other posts.

The attack was maintained with vigour from 6 a.m. to 10.30, when all the batteries were covered with dead and wounded, the guns dismounted and the *merlons* destroyed in spite of their being strengthened within by bales of goods. No one could appear on the bastions which were devastated by the fire of more than a hundred guns; the troops were terrified during this attack by the loss of the gunners and of nearly 200 men; the bastions having been undermined threatened at each discharge to crumble away, and a body of English troops, lying flat on the ground behind the screen which we had commenced to erect on the bank of the Ganges to cover this side of the Fort which was without either ditch or rampart, being ready to storm the walls, I thought that, in the condition in which the place was, I could not with prudence expose it to an assault. Accordingly I ordered the drum to beat a parley.

It was at this moment of confusion and disorder that the deserters

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[*who formed the larger portion of our garrison, presented themselves with their arms at the Porte Royale, forced it to be opened to them so that they might escape in the direction of Chinsurah which appeared to be weakly guarded by the enemy, and went off with some of the officers and Company's servants to join M. Law at Cossimbazar.*][1]

[*Here, Sir, is the proper place to give you the names of those who distinguished themselves as much by their zeal as by their courage in the defence of the place. I owe this justice to all the Marine, to the inhabitants, to the company of volunteers and, amongst others, to all the officers of the ship* 'Saint Contest,' *to Sieurs de Kalli, Renault junior and Launay, the two First Lieutenants and the Ensign of the garrison, to the Sieurs Sinfray, Matel, Le Conte, Dompierre, Renault de St. Germain, Junior, Boissimon and Renault de la Fuye, and lastly to the Sieurs De la Bar and Chambon, supercargoes of the Indiamen.*][2]

The Capitulation was signed [*by Messrs. Watson, Pocock and Clive, commander of the land force*][2] and at 3.15 p.m. the enemy entered the Fort.

Hardly had the English taken possession when Colonel Clive demanded, under threat of allowing no one to pass, that we should engage ourselves in writing not to carry arms against the King of England and his allies, in spite of the fact that by the 9th Article of the Capitulation the Director, Councillors and Company's servants were declared free, there being no mention in that Article of prisoners of war as in the second where the officers are made prisoners on *parole*. The result answering to their threats, and this action being sustained by an enemy who could not be bent from his purpose by our representations, and against whom we found ourselves defenceless, we were obliged to sign and even to promise not to go beyond Chinsurah, whither I withdrew with the rest of the Colony. We counted, from the favourable reception given us by the Dutch, on being, in this new abode, in safety from the violence of our enemies. We were speedily disillusioned.

On the 12th April the English Colonel sent me a letter in which he reproached me and the Council with having broken the engagement we signed in the Fort d'Orleans after the surrender of the place, by meetings and correspondence with the Moorish Government and our subordinate Factories: he asked us further to divide ourselves amongst the different European Settlements. The Council, in reply, exposed the

[1] Renault's letter of November 2, 1757. Instead of the passage in brackets, the present letter has: 'Terrified with the events of the day, issued armed from the Porte Royale, and had the good fortune to escape and join M. Law.'

[2] Renault's letter of November 2, 1757.

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falsity of his calumnies, but to its representations as to the impossibility of satisfying him without compromising ourselves, by separating from each other this officer, seeing that we would not move out of his way as we did not wish to separate, resolved, in default of reasons, to use force, and the next day he wrote to the Dutch Director to beg him to assemble all the French in the Settlement at his house. There two of his officers ordered me as well as the Council to go as prisoners of war to his camp. I confess, Sir, my surprise was extreme at seeing such a compliment paid us in the territory of a foreign Power and in the presence of its Chief, and that the latter had permitted a number of English *sepoys* to come armed into his Settlement to take possession of the streets and invest my house. I represented to him that, apart from our not being prisoners of war as he himself could see from our Capitulation and so not under the orders of Colonel Clive, I had thought myself secure from such insults under his protection, and that I could not persuade myself his complaisance towards the English would go so far as to allow us to be treated with violence whilst we were there. I told the English officers I would not follow them, and that the paper signed in the Fort, having been extorted [by force], was not binding upon us.

However to prevent any evil results from this affair I sent Monsieurs Fournier and La Porterie to Mr. Clive. These two Councillors were arrested on their arrival, and the former was allowed to return only on giving his *parole* to inform me of the Colonel's determination to drag us from Chinsura at whatever cost. In fact the same officers came from him to the Dutch Director, who was doubtless in connivance with our enemies and, without paying any attention to our protestations as to what had occurred in the morning, told us that this business did not concern him in any way and the English could do as they liked. The Director pushed the indignity so far as to tell me personally to leave his Settlement.

Accordingly our fear of the violence which the English *sepoys* might use towards our women determined us to go to the camp where Mr. Clive, to give some apparent colour to this violent behaviour by the correspondence which he accused us of having with the Moorish Government, further accused us of having assisted several soldiers and French sailors to escape from Chandernagore by means of clothes with which we furnished them, and in the third place of having assisted several of these fugitives to go on to Cossimbazar to join M. Law. He brought forward no proof of the first two accusations and for the third he adduced as positive evidence the money which I had given the fugitives to

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buy food with at Chinsura, the evidence of two Moorish spies and a French soldier, who had deserted—this Frenchman was never produced before me—and declared to Mr. Clive that I had insisted on his going to Cossimbazar, which he had refused to do only because his wife and family were at Chinsura, and the report of the *pions*[1] that on several occasions they had been charged to conduct sailors who had escaped from Chandernagore to their Captain, Mr. de la Vigne. That was all on which they were agreed. We had no difficulty in showing him by word of mouth the slight foundation of all the subjects of complaint he had against us; but this officer, not wishing to hear reason, only allowed us to return to the Dutch to get our things on giving our *parole* to return the next day and to go to Calcutta where we should be furnished with proofs of what he had charged us with. Before leaving Chinsura we sent the Dutch Council a second letter regarding the violation of international law exercised upon our persons, and another to Colonel Clive against his breach of the Capitulation, after which we started for Chandernagore where we embarked with an English officer. We passed a part of the night at the Danish Settlement, and gave the Danes a copy of the Capitulation and of our protests against the Dutch and Mr. Clive, and the next day at dawn we reached Calcutta, where on our arrival we were put in two different houses and strictly guarded.

At the end of eight days of detention, the proofs of the facts imputed to me not appearing, and not being able to see the Vice-Admiral, I wrote to complain to him of the violence done us by Mr. Clive first in the Fort d'Orleans so soon after the Capitulation and recently at Chinsura in falsely accusing us of having intelligence with the Moors, with having assisted the escape of prisoners, and with having tried to pass the soldiers on to Cossimbazar. I received a reply that, as regards the violence committed in the Fort, being Governor Commanding and commissioned as such I was certainly an officer and consequently included in the second Article of the Capitulation by which all the officers of the garrison were made prisoners of war, and hence I was not justified in saying my *parole* had been extorted: as to the ninth Article which we interpreted in our favour, that it had only been added subject to the second. It was only the officers (who seldom possess anything but their linen and clothes) who were to carry away what belonged to them, it not being reasonable to suppose that the same permission would be granted to us, the Director, Councillors and Company's servants, who were both officers and merchants, since by this means the greater part of the property of

[1] Possibly a mistake for '*espions*,' spies, or, if correct then, 'footmen.'

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every one might have been taken out of the Fort, that it was necessary that the conditions granted us touching our property should be particularly mentioned and stipulated, which seemed to the Admiral the sole reason for inserting the ninth Article since, except for this single reason, it did not seem at all necessary.

The reasons given by the Admiral for the insertion of the 9th Article not appearing plausible because they would imply that we, the Director and Councillors, who according to him ought to have thought ourselves included in the class of officers, would have tried of our own accord to despoil ourselves of our goods which had been granted us by the second Article so as not to wrong our enemy, I represented to him that none of the Articles of the Capitulation had reference to any other, and that it was more natural to think that, not having mentioned the Director, Councillors and Company's servants before, we had only wished to fix clearly, by not mentioning them as prisoners of war, their freedom to go where they liked in return for which favour they willingly despoiled themselves of their goods, and that on the contrary in the second Article we had only asked for the officers the retention of their property in compensation for the freedom which they were losing, and that this was the true meaning of the Articles which we could explain better than any one else as we had drawn them up ourselves. Besides, having stipulated for myself and in a separate Article and never having taken the title of Governor as he said [I had] but only that of Director in virtue of which I commanded in the Fort, I ought not to have been included in the second Article, which made the officers of the garrison prisoners of war on *parole*, and that it often happened that persons charged to carry out the order of their superiors treated, in regard to the disposal of a town, province &c., without being clothed with the title of Governor and entirely in virtue of the powers given them in this respect.

The Vice-Admiral, who preserved silence on the questions of correspondence with the Moors and the evasion of the prisoners, passed to our challenge of the evidence of the deserter and said that all our efforts to destroy the declaration of this soldier fell to pieces of themselves being founded on the supposition that he was then a deserter which he was not actually at the time as he did not know then whether his services would be accepted, and he treated it as a crime on my part to have furnished money to the prisoners who had escaped and who had incontestably become their enemies, thus giving them the means to continue their journey into the country, and so go and join M. Law.

I answered in regard to the deserter, whom I had not seen and who

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had, so they said, declared that I had insisted on his going to Cossimbazar, that whether he entered the English service before or after making his deposition, no one would believe that he had not been incited to utter such a calumny by interested motives when one considered that I had confessed having given some money to escaped prisoners to buy food with. I could not help expressing my surprise at any one pretending that in doing so I had broken my engagement at Chandernagore, for to act on this principle I must have allowed the poor wretches to die of hunger under pretext that the food I gave them would put them in a condition to damage [the English], a paradox all the more striking because they were my countrymen. I appealed to him [to say] if such behaviour could accord with sentiments of humanity.

Mr. Watson mentioned to me, to convict me finally of our bad faith in keeping our *parole*, the scandalous behaviour of one of our officers, named St. Martin, who surrendered as prisoner, gave his *parole* in writing so as to get back his property, and afterwards went to join M. Law. To this I begged him to note that, this officer not being in the Fort at the time of the Capitulation, there was all the less reason to charge us with this as I was still ignorant whether he had made his Capitulation himself unless he would do me the honour to inform me.

For all reply to my second letter the Admiral contented himself by informing me of its receipt through one of his Captains. Nevertheless the severity with which we were treated increased from day to day: and in the different sicknesses with which we were all attacked one after the other it was only with infinite difficulty that we succeeded in obtaining a French surgeon, whom they shut up with us.[1] They went so far as to refuse me spiritual succour at a time when, reduced to extremity, I asked no other favour. Not being able to persuade ourselves that the pretexts alleged by the English were the true cause of our detention, such harshness and such obstinacy in keeping us closely confined were for a long time an impenetrable mystery to us. We at last discovered the real motive of this persecution when we found that the English meditated the deposition of Siraj-uddaula, the Nawab of Bengal.

The English having discovered that an implacable hatred and desire for revenge were the motives which prompted this Prince to defer for more than two months the execution of the Articles of the Peace which he had made with them in February 1757, thought that, to prevent

[1] Evidently the surgeon (see p. 261) whose account is given elsewhere, but whose name is not known.

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their ruin, they ought to anticipate him, but to manage this they thought it essential to first assure themselves of the French Council for fear lest they should inform the Nawab of what was passing, and to drive away M. Law from Cossimbazar.

The seizure of the Council did not give them much trouble as they needed only the merest pretext with the Dutch, but it was not the same with the getting rid of M. Law, who by his intrigues for a long time baffled the urgent requests and dreadful threats which the English made to the Nawab to make him give M. Law up to them or to expel him from his dominions, and it was only after a month's vacillation that Siraj-uddaula forced him to withdraw with his troop so as, he said, not to bring war into his country. M. Law, after having explained to him the misfortunes which his absence would bring upon him, left Cossimbazar at the head of about 300 Europeans and 200 *sepoys*.

The English seeing their greatest difficulties smoothed away now thought only of completing their work. The whole Council of Siraj-uddaula as well as his generals were gained over. Mir Jafar, one of the chief generals and related to the Nawab, was chosen to replace him on promising to fulfil the conditions of the Peace made with Siraj-uddaula and to pay 300 *lakhs* of rupees, partly to recoup the losses of the English and partly for the gratification of the army, navy and Council, *i.e.* 150 *lakhs* for the Company, 50 for the European inhabitants, 20 for the black inhabitants, 7 for the Armenians and 73 for gratuities. This arrangement made, they set out for Muxadavad on the 12th June with 1,200 Europeans and 4,000 *sepoys*.

The Nawab, informed by a Frenchman of what was hatching, instead of temporising and waiting for M. Law, to whom he had given orders to come and join him, marched confidently, though in the midst of traitors whom he had not dared to get rid of, to meet his enemies. The battle was fought on the 23rd June; the Nawab seeing himself abandoned by his followers fled, but was arrested and massacred at Muxadavad some days later by the son of Mir Jafar, who had been proclaimed Nawab by the English. M. Law heard of the misfortune of Siraj-uddaula in time to escape from Bengal.

We were still in prison in Calcutta when we heard of this event. Mr. Watson, not seeing what further use our detention could be and knowing also the sad condition to which I was reduced by my imprisonment, sent me word by one of his Captains that he would consent to my enlargement if I would bind myself in writing not to serve directly or indirectly against the King of England and his allies. The

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Vice-Admiral not being willing to consent to anything else, the want of medical attendance which I needed to restore my health made me submit. We were set free on the 15th June but only under orders not to go out of Calcutta, and on the 4th July we were at last permitted to go and rejoin our families after two and a half months of imprisonment.

Three weeks later Admiral Watson sent me word by the Commandant of Chandernagore where I was living that he intended to send all the French to the Coast in the small monsoon. To turn him from this resolution I sent M. Fournier to him, but the Vice-Admiral, in spite of the Capitulation and the remonstrances of this Councillor, would make no relaxation except in favour of the married people, to whom alone he granted the liberty of waiting till December or January.

Mr. Watson dying the 16th August, this arrangement afterwards suffered many changes. At first the Rear-Admiral, Mr. Pocock, in conjunction with the Council at Calcutta and Mr. Clive, reduced the number going to twenty-six, and consequently these Frenchmen came to Calcutta whence, after staying there for some days, they were allowed to return, but scarcely had they returned to Chandernagore expecting not to have to embark till the 24th September [? December] this same Rear-Admiral and Mr. Clive ordered all the French to be ready to embark on the 3rd October.

This hurried departure, which made us think the English were no longer disinclined to risk causing our deaths, filled all minds with consternation. I wrote about it to the Rear-Admiral and the Council and that it was absolutely impossible, especially for the married people, after Mr. Watson's promise to leave them till December, to satisfy them in so short a time. I especially insisted on the inhumanity of this proceeding, which in exposing us to all the rigours of a terrible season precipitated our families into the most frightful misery, and I even offered, if the little liberty we had gave them offence, to return to prison rather than expose the women and children to die of hunger for want of provisions for their subsistence which could not be provided considering our situation in the time prescribed.

The English replied that their resolution to send us to Fort Saint George on the 3rd October was an act of necessity which was as painful to them as to us and that this arrangement to which they found themselves forced was occasioned by the news of the arrival of a French squadron on the [Madras] Coast, where a further reinforcement was expected [by the French] a fact which made them consider the interests of their own country [before anything else].

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Though the English had not appeared to pay attention to the written protest of all the French against their proceedings, we must presume, gentlemen, that they reflected on it as they caused only the bachelors to embark at that time. These gentlemen left the river on the 13th of the same month. I had so much the more reason to fear for them in this dangerous season as the Captain had not dared to embark because the ship was very badly rigged.[1]

On the 21st December came the order for every one in the Settlement to prepare to embark on the ship *Drake* which was to sail for Fort Saint George about the 8th January, and on the *Warwick* which was to sail on the 15th of the same month. It was then that seeing, by the small effect produced by our protestations, no further possibility of remaining in Bengal, I asked to come here by a Danish ship which landed me on the 25th January.

Mr. Clive and the English have been guilty of the most irregular conduct in seizing our property whether in the hands of the Moors or of the Dutch, such prizes being absolutely unauthorised. I have personally complained to Mr. Clive and even to the Admiral, who gave me as their sole answer that they intended to do the French as much harm as they could.

I have the honour to send you, gentlemen, a copy of the letters which contain the despatches drawn up in reference to the violence which the English exercised against the French. They are at the end of the Council's correspondence and mine, with the answers of the English; also a copy of the Capitulation. As the Company appears little satisfied with this last document and has written to you, gentlemen, to take a complete account on this subject of the conduct of all the people who were at Chandernagore, I append a copy of my reply to the observations of the Company.

I am, &c.,

RENAULT.

85. *Extracts from the First Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company, and of the British Affairs in the East Indies, reported 26 May, 1772.*

(*a*) *Evidence of Mr. Charles Manningham, p.* 138.

That in the year 1756, he was Third in Council, and Warehouse Keeper at Calcutta, and next to Mr. Drake upon the spot; that he

[1] The ship was the *Restitution*, Captain John Durand. (See Fort William Public Proceedings, October 24, 1757.)

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thinks it is not in the power of any man to assign the reason for the origin of the Troubles, and knows of no part of the conduct of the Company's Servants at Calcutta that could incense the Government; that the Troubles commenced in June 1756. Alli Ver di Cawn, the predecessor of Serajah Dowla, died about the —— April preceding; that Serajah Dowla had always the character of a rash vicious young man; and it was supposed the first occasion of his coming against Calcutta was that he was tempted by the idea of the place being likely to afford great plunder; that the first accounts the Factory had of his ill intentions towards them was the beginning of June 1756.

Being questioned as to what he knew of offence taken by the Nabob in regard to protection given by the English to one Kissindass; he said, that Mr. Drake was Governor of the Settlement and Mr. Watts was the Chief of Cossimbuzar, and believes that Kissindass was at that time in the Dacca part of the country; that Mr. Watts wrote to Mr. Drake, to suffer Kissindas to land at Calcutta in his way to Muxadavad by way of refreshment, as his family had been useful to the English; that as Mr. Drake was absent at the time Mr. Watts's letter arrived, the letter was sent under cover to the witness to be opened, and he is not quite sure whether that period was before or after the death of Ali Ver di Cawn; that Kissindass landed at Calcutta accordingly; that he never saw him, and that when Mr. Drake arrived a few days after, he delivered him the letter.

The witness said, he was upon the spot when Serajah Dowla came down, and believes Kissindass was not then in the town; he does not recollect, that Serajah Dowla made any demand for the delivering up of Kissindass, but that if he did it would appear upon the Public Proceedings.

Being further questioned, he repeated that it was impossible to give any rational account of the origin of the Troubles; and said that he was at Muxadavad at the time Lord Clive was there in July of the same year; that enquiry was then made with all possible attention, but without success, into the motives of Serajah Dowla's conduct from his principal officers, and likewise from the officers of his predecessor, from the Seats, and every other person from whom information was likely to be obtained.

Being asked, whether Kissindass was really protected or not, what time he remained in Calcutta, after Mr. Drake's return, and whether he knew or had heard, before the taking of Calcutta, that the Nabob demanded Kissindass? he said Kissindass was permitted to land, but how long he staid he could not tell, and that he had heard at that time

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of his being demanded. He also said he was reckoned to be very rich, and that he had a number of boats, and it was supposed he had treasure with him.

Being further asked whether Kissindass's coming to Calcutta was considered as an escape from Serajah Dowla? he said it could not be considered as an escape because he was coming in his way from Dacca to Muxadavad, where the Nabob was; he could not form any opinion whether Kissindass, at the time he landed at Calcutta in his way to Muxadavad or Cossimbuzar, knew of the death of Alli Ver di Cawn or the succession of Serajah Dowla.

Being asked whether it was in Council that he heard the report that the Nabob had formerly demanded the delivery of Kissindass? he said that he heard at the time that Mr. Drake had received a letter from the Nabob to that purport, and had answered that no further protection had been given to Kissindass than a permission to land in his way to Muxadavad; that it was either in Council or Committee he heard it, but could not say which, and thinks this letter of the demand must have been received while Kissindass was in the place; the witness knew of no further demand from the Nabob relative to Kissindass, nor any demand of any other nature except a trifling circumstance of a gentleman having erected a Summer House in his garden, which had been represented to the Nabob as a fortification but it was explained to the Nabob, and a desire expressed that he would send to examine it.

He further said that the English had no intercourse with the Nabob, and assigned no cause to his knowledge for coming down against them.

Being asked whether it is not the custom in Bengal that the Prime Minister of a preceding Nabob or of his subordinates should stand forth and be amenable to the power of the reigning Nabob and not withdraw himself? he said the nature of the Government being arbitrary did naturally expect it, but whether it is the custom he could not say; but that undoubtedly if this is refused the Nabobs usually endeavour by all means in their power to compel them to be amenable.

The witness knew of no cause for any complaint of tenants of the *Mogul* being protected by the English in Calcutta, nor of any such complaint being transmitted to the Factory either directly from the Nabob or from Mr. Watts.

Notice being taken that it appeared by certain Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Fort Saint George that Mr. Manningham had objected to several articles in the various accounts or informations

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transmitted to them from Bengal respecting the capture of Calcutta; and it further appearing by the said Proceedings that in consequence of such objections from Mr. Manningham the several informations were officially delivered to him in order to state his objections at that time; the witness was then asked, whether he had ever delivered in any answer upon the reference so made to him? to which he said that he was deputed by the Governor of Calcutta to go to Madrass, and carried a letter directed to the Governor and Council at Madrass and was commissioned to give them a further account, by word of mouth, of the affairs of the Factory.

In regard to a messenger coming from the Nabob to Calcutta, upon the subject of protection given to the Nabob's tenants, and the treatment of that messenger; the witness said he knew of a messenger coming with a letter addressed to the President and wrote in Persian, and to the best of his remembrance a part of that letter related as he mentioned before to Kissindass; he does not recollect whether he saw the letter or not, and believed Mr. Drake, upon the messenger delivering the letter, ordered him to leave the town; he believes an answer was sent afterwards and the purport of it was that Kissindass was only allowed to land and no protection was given him; the messenger, he believed, staid but a few hours in the town after he delivered the letter; he was an *hircarrah*, by name, as he believes, Narranzing.

Being asked whether the answer to the Nabob's letter was communicated to the Council, or whether it was sent as Mr. Drake's private letter? the witness said the purport of both the letter and the answer itself were communicated; he does not recollect who the answer was sent by, nor how long it might be after the receipt of the letter, but believes it might be the same day or the day following, and did not recollect the whole contents of the letter.

Being asked if it was the usual practice when a messenger brought a letter from the Nabob to order him to leave the town without any answer sent with him? he said it was not; nor could he assign any reason for so doing, for the receipt of the letter was not public nor was the treatment of the messenger so.

In regard to the measures the Factory took to pacify the Nabob after they were informed of his hostile intentions, the witness said Mr. Drake was repeatedly desired to write to the Nabob to know the cause of his resentment, and that he had no doubt but he did so, but believed he received no answer; among other methods Coja Wasseed, a merchant of considerable rank and substance and likewise a tenant of several

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considerable farms, was requested by letters to apply to the Nabob to know the reason of his resentment, and was desired to act as a mediator upon the occasion; it was also tried to be informed by means of this Coja Wasseed whether money was the only object in view, and, in general, he was requested to interest himself as well as he could to appease the Nabob; his answer was that it was not in his power to be of any use upon the occasion, and that the payment of a sum of money was not the object; the reason of applying to Coja Wasseed was that he was supposed to be a man of some weight and in favour with the Nabob from the circumstance of his having entertained him at his house when he was *Chuta Nabob*.

The witness being asked, whether he had any reason to believe, that any sum of money or present was given to Mr. Drake, or any other person, by Kissindass? he said he did not know nor had any reason to believe that any were given to Mr. Drake, or any other person.

Being again questioned, whether he was sure that Kissindass was not received in Calcutta before the death of Alli Ver di Cawn? he said, he was not sure,—and whether the contents of the letter from Mr. Watts, were not to permit Kissindass to remain two months in the town, and that there was a particular recommendation of Kissindass's family as being particularly serviceable to the English? he said, he could not recollect the particular purport of the letter; that in general it was warm recommendation of Kissindass as the son of Rajab Bullub, a man of power and interest at the *Durbar* and who might be of service to the affairs of the India Company at the *Durbar*.

(*b*) *Evidence of Mr. Richard Becher*,[1] *p.* 139.

That about the end of the year 1755, he was appointed Chief of the Subordinate Factory at Dacca; that from that time he did not attend at any of the Councils that were held at Calcutta, and of course could only speak of transactions that passed there by report from others; that at the time the letter of the 10th[2] of July 1756, was wrote from Dacca, himself and the other gentlemen that signed it were prisoners to the Nabob and by his permission allowed to reside in the French Factory; that, for some time before the taking of Calcutta they had no correspondence with the gentlemen of Fort William, but for intelligence were obliged to trust to the natives of the country or what the French received from their Settlement at Chandernagore;

[1] Spelled incorrectly *Beecher* in the Report.

[2] Probably refers to letter of July 12, vol. i., p. 67.

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that he thought it his duty at that time to forward to the Court of Directors, and to the Governor in Council at Madrass, such intelligence as he was able by those means to procure; that he has since had the greatest reason to believe the accounts transmitted to the Governor in Council at Madrass, then obtained from the French, were greatly exaggerated and very fallacious in many particulars; that the report of Kissindass's being received and protected in Calcutta being a cause assigned by Serajah Dowla for his displeasure against the English he heard from numbers of people where he then was, both French and natives, and he gave credit to it, and therefore assigned it to the Court of Directors as the principal reason.

In relation to the affairs of Kissindass, the witness said that he recollected to have heard Kissindass was received in Calcutta about the latter end of March 1756, and remained there till the place was taken by Serajah Dowla on the 20th of June; he and Omichund were both prisoners in the Factory by order of the Governor, as he believed: and the witness further said that, in the situation the India Company then were as merchants living under the protection of the Country Government, he then was, and still is, of opinion that neither Kissindass, nor any other subject of the Nabob, should have been received and protected in the Company's Settlement; and he still thinks, that this did give a pretence to Serajah Dowla to shew his resentment against the English, but at the same time he is now convinced from the many opportunities he hath since had of conversing with those who were at that time principal officers and in high station about Serajah Dowla, at Muxadavad that, even if that pretence had not been given, he would have marched his army down against Calcutta; his object was money; Calcutta was reported to be very rich, and so were the other European Settlements of Chandernagore and Chinsura; Serajah Dowla was a young man, violent, passionate, of great ambition, tinctured with avarice, and he expected both wealth and honour by attacking the European Settlements and by extorting money from them; that this appears from his conduct in attacking Calcutta, and from the sums he extorted from the French, Dutch, and Danes, after that transaction.

The witness being asked whether he ever heard of the Nabob's demanding Kissindass after he was received in Calcutta? he said he did not recollect that he heard it before Calcutta was taken, though he may have done so, but he heard it soon after: that his opinion at that time was, that if Kissindass had been delivered up, and a sum

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of money offered, the Nabob would not have proceeded to the lengths he did in attacking Calcutta; and he grounded this opinion in great measure upon what had been the former custom of the Nabobs and Princes of that country when they were displeased with the English: that Alli Ver di Cawn, who was a wise Prince, had upon different occasions shewn his displeasure and taken money from them, but appeared always to be so sensible of the benefits accruing to his country by the trade carried on by the English that he never proceeded further than to put a stop to the trade of the Company, and to place forces round their Factories, by which means he always brought them to the terms he pleased.

The witness being asked, whether he knew of any money unjustly taken from the Company by Alli Ver di Cawn, or any troubles arising from demands of money previous to the accession of Serajah Dowla? he said, he recollected two instances where sums of money were taken, the first, to the best of his remembrance in 1744 or 1745, when he made a demand upon all the European Settlements in his dominions, and gave as reasons for it the great expence he was obliged to be at in maintaining a very large army to defend his country and those who lived under his protection from the Mharattas, who used at that time almost annually to invade Bengal; that the English Company, at that time, was obliged to pay three *lack* and a half of rupees, as well as he could remember; and the other European Nations in proportion to their trade:—That he recollects another instance, about the year 1748 or 1749 when the Company's trade was stopped and forces put round their subordinate Factories for several months in consequence of the complaint of an Armenian, who had freighted goods on a ship under Dutch Colours, which ship was taken by Commodore Griffin or some of his Squadron, and condemned, as he understood, for having French property on board. The Armenian living under the protection of the Nabob of Bengal, made his complaint to the Nabob of the loss of his property, and the Nabob insisted on the English making good to him the loss he had sustained by that capture. At that time orders from Home were peremptory not to comply with the demands made by the Country Government; in consequence of which, the gentlemen refused to comply with the demand made by the Nabob; but, after using their endeavours for several months to pacify him, they were obliged to submit: that he supposes the Company looked upon the demand of the three *lack* and a half by Alli Ver di Cawn as a hostile one, and believed the orders above mentioned were sent out in consequence of it.

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The witness being asked, whether he knew, or believed, that Mr. Drake or any other person received presents or money from Kissindass for the protection given him? said, he did not know, nor did he believe that he or any other person did receive either money or presents.

(c) Evidence of Mr. John Cooke, p. 140.

John Cooke, Esquire, who in the year 1756 was Secretary to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, being called to the same point as the above witnesses, gave the following narrative from notes taken by him soon after the transactions of that year, and since copied with his own hand.

[1]Alli Ver di Cawn, Nabob of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, died on the ninth of April 1756, and Serajah Dowla took possession of his Government, agreeably to the will and intention of his grandfather, who had, even in his life time, seated him on the *musnud* and obliged the Officers of his *Durbar* to do him homage as *Subah;* this paved the way for his being acknowledged and obeyed as such, without hesitation or dispute, immediately on the death of the old Nabob. The only show of opposition that he met with, was from the widow of Nawajis Cawn, who had got a body of men togeather to secure the wealth she was left in possession of by the death of her husband, in case the young *Subah* should attempt to sieze it. This was soon adjusted, and her troops disbanded, upon promise of being left unmolested in her person and riches, by which means all was quiet at the capital, and Serajah Dowla's authority universally established in the dependant Provinces, except in Poornea, the Nabob whereof (a relation) refused to trust himself in the hands of the young *Subah*, and therefore would not come to Moorshedabad but kept himself in his province of Poornea at the head of his army. This obliged Serajah Dowla to take the field very soon after his accession to the *Subahship*, and march up as far as Raja Maul to intimidate the Poornean and force him to come to the *Durbar*.

Presently after the death of the old Nabob, President Drake wrote Serajah Dowla a letter of congratulation on his accession, and desired his favour and protection to the English Company, which was received very kindly, and promises given our *vackeel* that he would shew the English greater marks of friendship and esteem than his grandfather had done.

[1] The narrative, as given in Orme's MSS. India, vol. iv., pp. 804-821, begins here.

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About this juncture the Company's packet per *Delawar* was received from Madrass, by which we found there was the greatest likelihood imaginable of a rupture between us and France, and the Court of Directors particularly recommended to the Governor and Council to be strictly on their guard, and to put their fortifications in the best state of defence they could. In consequence of these advices the Line of guns towards the river was repaired and strengthened, and some other trifling works erected, particularly a redoubt at Perrin's Garden which had been planned by Colonel Scott. This circumstance is mentioned, as the *Subah* made it one of his pretences for attacking the English.

It is necessary to take notice that one Kissindass (who had been in the Government's service as *duan* and *naib* of Dacca) had embarked himself, his women and effects, on a large number of boats, upon the death of Nawajis Cawn (which happened not long before that of old Ali Ver di Cawn) and had sheltered himself from the power of Serajah Dowla in the woods[1] below Dacca till he heard that his father Radgbullubdass was set at liberty and seemingly restored to favour; then, under pretence of going upon a pilgrimage to Saugers or Jaggernaut, he landed himself and effects in Calcutta on the 16th of March, in his passage down the river, by permission of the Presiding Member of the Board (Mr. Drake being at Ballasore for his health). This anecdote is likewise mentioned for the same reason as the reparations to our works, because Serajah Dowla made use of his being suffered to live in Calcutta as another cause of offence, the English giving protection (so he termed it) to the servants of the Government by this reception of Kissindass in the Settlement.

As soon as Serajah Dowla found himself pretty well established in the Government, he sent a *hircarrah* (messenger) to demand Kissindass; but as the *hircarrah* came in a private manner, and disguised, into the Settlement, the President Mr. Drake, being then returned from Ballasore, thought it improper to admit him as a messenger from the Nabob, and ordered him to be turned out of the Bounds.

Very shortly after this transaction the Governor received a letter from the *Subah*, signifying his displeasure at our repairing our fortifications or carrying on any new works without first obtaining his permission: and insisted not only on our putting a stop to such works but on our destroying what was already done. The Governor's answer not corresponding with the *Subah's* impetuosity of temper, and finding that we would not comply with his peremptory orders for destroying

[1] The Sundarbans.

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our works, he took the sudden resolution of forcing us to a compliance; immediately laid aside his design of crossing the Ganges to bring the Nabob of Poornea to reason, and marched his whole army back to Moorshedabad, having first sent orders to Rajah Doolubram (alias Roy Doolub) to invest our factory at Cossimbuzar with a body of horsemen. This step was followed by a total stoppage of all our business at the *aurungs* and other subordinate Factories.

The 25th May we received the first advice of the Nabob's orders for investing Cossimbuzar, and from that time every day brought us fresh intelligence of that Factory being surrounded with the *Subah's* forces; and that Serajah Dowla absolutely threatened to attack them if we delayed or refused to destroy the works we had erected at Calcutta.

Letter after letter was despatched to the gentlemen to order their *vackeel* to remonstrate at the *Durbar* how unjustly the *Subah* proceeded against the English in suffering their enemies to persuade him they were erecting strong fortifications, when nothing was further from the truth; which the Nabob might be satisfied of if he would send a person that he could confide in to Calcutta to see what we were doing and report the same as it really was. Our communication with Cossimbuzar began now to be difficult, and as our last advices only served to confirm the report of the *Subah's* determination to make himself master of that Factory first and after that to march against the Presidency itself, a Council of war was summoned on the 5th June to consider the situation of Cossimbuzar Factory, and whether it was practicable or adviseable to send them a reinforcement. The weakness of our own garrison (which did not exceed 170 effective men, not above 50 or 60 of which were Europeans) determined the majority of the officers, who assisted at that Council, to declare in writing that, in their opinion, it was imprudent at that juncture to attempt sending up a detachment for reinforcing Cossimbuzar, surrounded as it was by the *Subah's* forces.

For the reason already mentioned as well as many other substantial ones, the President and Council thought it more eligible to promise obedience to the Nabob's orders than to risk the issue of a quarrel with him at a time we were so ill prepared in every respect for offence or defence. A letter to that purport was accordingly enclosed to Mr. Watts to be delivered Serajah Dowla; but, the ingress to our Factory being totally put a stop to, the Chief never received this letter.

While this was doing at Cossimbazar, the gentlemen were not idle in Calcutta, but exerted their utmost (as things grew towards a crisis).

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to put the place in as good a posture of defence as it was capable of, and dispatched several *pattamars* to Fort Saint George for assistance. Orders were likewise sent to Dacca and the other Subordinates to call in as much of the Company's money and effects that were outstanding as they could, and to hold themselves in readiness to embark the same upon the first notice and bring them to Fort William.

On the 6th of June it was currently reported (but nobody knew from whence it arose) that Cossimbazar was delivered up to the Nabob. The Governor thereupon ordered a survey of the town to be made, and the works necessary to its defence to be laid before the Board by the officers in the garrison, which was accordingly done the next day. The plan was to throw up a few batteries fronting the principal avenues in the town, and a Line of intrenchment between, which was immediately set about, and every *cooley* employed to get it done. The militia were summoned and exercised, and every other measure taken to maintain a siege, in case the Nabob carried things to that extremity. As it was impossible to receive any reinforcement in time if the *Subah* pursued his march to Calcutta immediately, the French and Dutch were applied to for assistance. The Dutch declined giving us any, and the French only gasconaded with us, by offering to join their force with ours if we would quit our own Settlement and carry our garison and effects up to Chandernagore.

At one o'clock p.m. of the 7th June, we received the intelligence of Cossimbuzar Factory being surrendered up to Serajah Dowla on the 2nd of that month. This intelligence came from Mr. Collet, and therefore removed all doubts concerning the loss of that place, as he was Second upon the spot. By his letter it appeared that the Chief had been assured that if he would wait on the Nabob in person he might possibly prevent the Factory being attacked, which his Council thought it more adviseable for him to do than to risk the event of a rupture. Mr. Watts met with a very different reception to what he expected, and he and Messrs. Collet and Batson were forced to sign a *mutchulka*, or obligation, that the Nabob had got prepared; they had been promised their liberty upon signing of it but found there was no faith to be put on the *Subah's* word; for, instead of obtaining their liberty, Mr. Collet was remanded back to the Factory and forced to give it up to the Commander-in-Chief of the Nabob's troops; after which he was again carried to the camp, and Mr. Watts and he kept close prisoners and treated in a very indifferent manner.

The seizure of Cossimbuzar in this treacherous manner, and his

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subsequent proceeding, plainly indicated the *Subah's* intention was no less than the attack of the Presidency and expulsion of the English; for immediate orders were given to his generals to march towards Calcutta, and his whole Train of artillery brought into the field. The other Europeans at Chandernagore and Chinsura were called upon to assist his forces in reducing Calcutta, and every body at the *Durbar* forbid to intercede for the English.

So uncommonly expeditious were the *Subah's* forces in their march down to Calcutta that in about thirteen days after the surrender of Cossimbuzar, they began the attack of the Presidency itself, having in that time marched above 160 miles with a heavy Train of artillery, in the hottest season of the year.

Hostilities began on our part on the 12th June, by spiking up the cannon at Tannah's Fort (a fortification belonging to the Moors, a little below the town) and endeavouring to beat down the walls of that battery, which could not however be effected on account of the prodigious hardness of the *pucca* work and the vast thickness of the masonry. While our people were upon this enterprise, a party of the Nabob's troops from Hughly, with five pieces of artillery, arrived and obliged our men to return to their ships. A second attempt was made, two days later, to dislodge the Moors from that place, but to no purpose; the cannon from our country ships employed in the attack being too small to make any impression or do any mischief.

Several letters and messages passed between the President and Coja Wazeed, in which the latter was desired to use his influence with the Nabob in our favour and authorized to accommodate matters by giving a sum of money, which it was imagined was what the *Subah* aimed at according to the custom of his predecessor, who had frequently squeezed large sums from the Europeans under various pretences; but we were disappointed in our judgment of Serajah Dowla's views, and we quickly found he was too much exasperated to be appeased by the ordinary method of a present.

On Wednesday the 16th a firing was heard to the northward, which proved to be an attack made upon the redoubt at Perrin's by the van of the Nabob's army, who were advanced as far as Mr. Kelsall's garden at Chitpoor and were attempting to enter Calcutta on that side by forcing the post before mentioned. The reception they met with at this redoubt obliged them to abandon the design of entering the town at that avenue, and we found their army had wheeled off to the eastward towards Dumdumma, which side of our town was quite exposed and defenceless.

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It was hoped however that the men they lost at Perrin's would have cooled their ardour, and have made the Nabob listen to terms of accommodation. All Thursday we were pretty quiet, excepting the disturbance occasioned by a band of robbers attending the Nabob's camp, who had entered the town in several quarters and plundered every house they came to. The enemy had now entirely surrounded the town, and on Friday the 18th June in the morning attacked the entrenchments on every side with the musqueteers of their army; they had infinitely the advantage over us in this attack as they could fire upon our men from the tops, windows and *verandas* of houses which stood close to and overlooked our lines and batteries, by which means they did a great deal of mischief, and annoyed our people so terribly that scarce any body could venture to raise their heads above the cover of the breast works for fear of being killed or wounded; while, on our part, we were obliged to spend our fire at random by pointing our cannon at the houses they were lodged in, without being certain of their doing execution, though it is most probable we must have killed many of the enemy.

The firing was very hot on both sides from eight in the morning till noon, when the enemy slackened and made almost a total cessation of the attack, for what reason we could not tell. In the afternoon they began with more warmth than ever; our people were now extremely fatigued; great numbers had been killed, and a far greater wounded; the enemy poured in multitudes from all quarters; there seemed no hopes of defending the Lines under the disadvantages already mentioned, the Moors having possessed themselves of every lodgment that commanded the entrenchment, and in some places had even penetrated within our Works. In this situation of things it was judged expedient to spike up all the cannon at the faschine batteries, and withdraw the military and militia stationed there nearer to the Fort itself, and to abandon the entrenchment; orders were issued to the several posts for that purpose, and the same put in execution towards the close of the evening.

No sooner was this perceived by the enemy than they possessed themselves of our Lines, and turned one of our own 18 pounders at the Jail battery against the Fort; but their little skill in managing artillery prevented their doing much damage with their cannon in any part of the siege; and had they used their musquetry no better we might have remained very secure within our walls. They now brought up a few pieces of small cannon to play against the Fort from a little battery or

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breast work to the south-east; but what annoyed us most of all were the wall pieces and long match-locks, which they fixed upon the top of several houses that entirely overlooked the Fort, and fired such showers of balls from them, and that so incessantly, that it became very dangerous to stir from one part of the Factory to another. This evening (the 18th) it was determined to remove our women on board the *Doddalay* and such other country ships and vessels as were in the river. This embarkation was performed in the dusk of the evening, but with so little order, that many of the ladies (among whom was the Governor's wife) were left behind, and some of them obliged to remain even till the next day, for want of boats to carry them off.

It is easy to imagine the consternation and confusion that was discovered in every countenance when it was known that the enemy had in one day obliged us to abandon those works on which we placed our principal dependance, and had flattered ourselves we could have defended till a reinforcement arrived from Madrass. The inability of our military officers appeared too evident now to expect much from them; and as the Governor was as little qualified to act in such a situation as the officers, it could not but follow that all command must have been in a manner at an end for want of a proper confidence in those who were to be obeyed. This was actually the case, and from the time we were confined to the defence of the Fort itself nothing was to be seen but disorder, riot, and confusion; every body was officious in advising, yet no one was properly qualified to give advice. The Factory was so crouded with Portugueze women and unnecessary people that it would have been impossible to have found provisions enough for one week, even had our walls and garison been able to resist the efforts of the enemy. In this situation it was lucky for us the Moors (who never fight in the night) suspended their operations as soon as it was dark, and gave us, by that means, an opportunity of consulting and debating on what was to be done. The majority of the military officers gave it as their opinion that it was impracticable to defend the Fort with so small a garison, and so unprovided with stores for a siege, against the numerous army of the enemy; the artillery officers reported we had not powder and shot enough for three days; our bombs and grenadoes were of no use, the fusees being spoiled by the dampness of the climate, owing to their being filled some years and never looked into afterwards. Thus circumstanced, a retreat to our ships was by every body judged the most eligible step that could be taken; but the dispute was whether that retreat ought to be made

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immediately, under favour of the night, or deferred till the next day, and in what manner to conduct a general retreat without confusion or tumult? It was at last resolved to defer the retreat till the next night, and that all the next day should be employed in embarking the Portugueze women and our most valuable effects, by which means we should avoid the disorder we dreaded. Had this plan been strictly adhered to, and rightly executed, a number of lives would have been saved, and all those dreadful and melancholy consequences prevented, which afterwards happened. Mr. William Baillie, one of the Council, who exerted himself on all occasions in a most disinterested and generous manner, undertook to see the women and effects sent away, and began the embarkation of the first early on Saturday morning. The enemy renewed their attack with the break of day and cannonaded the Fort very briskly from two or three different batteries, besides keeping up a hot fire from the tops of the houses with their wall pieces and *shamsingees*; the Moors presed on so close, and in such multitudes, that it was deemed more prudent to call in all the out posts (for we had occupied the Church and a few of the adjacent houses all the preceding night) to prevent their being cut off. The party stationed in Mr. Cruttenden's house, upon leaving it, set fire to it to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment there, as it stood within forty yards of the Factory walls; and we had the satisfaction soon after of seeing the Company's House likewise in flames (done we imagine by the enemy) which stood as near the walls on the other side.

Unluckily no orders relating to the intended general retreat had been published, and as the resolution of retreating was known by the whole garison by report, without the method which had been planned for putting it in execution, many of the inhabitants imagined every body was to shift for himself and endeavour to get on board such vessel as he conveniently could. Upon this presumption several left the Factory and made their retreat to the ships; which being observed, they were followed by many others, some of whom had been even present at the Consultation in which the plan of the retreat had been settled, but, concluding the former scheme was altered for considerations to them unknown, they made the best of their way to the ships laying off the Fort. To add to the general confusion, between nine and ten o'clock the *Doddalay* (on board of which ship were Messrs. M. and F.)[1] weighed her anchor, and dropped down to Surman's Garden, the captain of her, it seems, being apprehensive of her being burnt by the fire arrows or

[1] Manningham and Frankland.

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rockets discharged by the enemy upon the vessels in the river. No sooner was this perceived than every ship and sloop followed the example, and, weighing their anchors, left the station they might have been of the greatest service in by affording an asylum to the garison at their retreat. This ill-judged circumstance occasioned all the uproar and misfortunes that followed; for the moment it was observed, many of the gentlemen on shore (who perhaps never dreamt of leaving the Factory till every body did) immediately jumped into such boats as were at the Factory stairs, and rowed to the ships. The *manjees* and *dandies* of the boats we had secured, seeing the universal confusion that prevailed and that the ships were dropping down the river, thought the danger much greater than it really was and began to consult their own safety by leaving the shore and rowing away as fast as they could, either to the ships or to the other side of the river, *maugre* all that could be said or done to prevent them. Among those who left the Factory in this unaccountable manner were the Governor, Mr. Drake, Mr. Macket, Captain-Commandant Minchin, and Captain Grant. In less than a quarter of an hour those who persevered in defending the Fort found themselves abandoned by all the seniors of the Council and the principal military officers, and had the mortification likewise to see themselves deprived of the means of retreating by the desertion of the ships and boats. As soon as it was known the Governor had left the Factory, the gate towards the river was immediately locked to prevent any further desertion; and the general voice of the garison called for Mr. Holwell to take the charge of their defence upon him. A Council being hastily summoned, Mr. Pearkes, the senior then on shore, waved his right to the Government in favour of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon acted in all respects as Commander-in-Chief, and exerted his utmost to encourage every one. Signals were now thrown out from every part of the Fort for the ships to come up again to their stations, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel, as well as shameful, it was to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy; and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own; but we deceived ourselves; and there never was a single effort made, in the two days the Fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garison.

All the 19th the enemy pushed on their attack with great vigour, and having possessed themselves of the Church (not thirty yards or forty

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from the east curtain of the Fort) they galled the garison in a terrible manner, and killed and wounded a prodigious number. In order to prevent this havock as much as possible, we got up a quantity of broad cloth in bales, with which we made traverses along the curtains and bastions; we fixed up likewise some bales of cotton against the parapets (which were very thin, and of brickwork only) to resist the cannon balls, and did every thing in our power to baffle their attempt, and hold out, if possible, till the *Prince George* (a Company's ship employed in the country) could drop down low enough to give us an opportunity of getting on board. This ship had in the commencement of hostilities (on the 16th) been ordered up to Perrin's, to assist that redoubt in case the enemy made a second attack; but after they wheeled their army round towards Dumdumma the party at the post was withdrawn as no longer necessary, and the *Prince George* directed to fall down to her station opposite the south-east bastion of the Fort. She was in sight about noon of the 19th, and was now the only glimmering of hope left us to escape falling into the hands of the Moors. Our situation and distress was therefore communicated to the commander of her (Thomas Hague) and he positively directed to bring his ship as near the Fort as he could, without loss of time. These instructions were transmitted on board by the hands of Messrs. Pearkes and Lewis, and we began now to entertain some expectation of making a general retreat, notwithstanding what had happened in the morning; but it was otherwise determined by Providence; for by some strange fatality the *Prince George* run aground a little above the Factory (owing to the Pilot's misconduct, who lost his presence of mind) and was never after got off.

The enemy suspended their attack as usual when it grew dark; but the night was not less dreadful on that account; the Company's house, Mr. Cruttenden's, Mr. Nixon's, Dr. Knox's, and the Marine Yard, were now in flames, and exhibited a spectacle of unspeakable terror. We were surrounded on all sides by the Nabob's forces, which made a retreat by land impracticable; and we had not even the shadow of a prospect to effect a retreat by water after the *Prince George* run aground.

On the first appearance of dawn, on the 20th June, the besiegers renewed their cannonading. They pushed the siege this morning with much more warmth and vigour than ever they had done. About eight o'clock they attempted to break into the Factory by means of some windows in the easterly curtain, which we had neglected to brick up. While every body was intent on repelling this onset, an alarm was

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spread that the enemy were scaling the north-west bastion; part of the garison were thereupon detached to prevent this attempt, and the hottest fire ensued for above an hour, that we had yet seen, on both sides. The besiegers at length gave over their efforts, and retired with great loss; but they continued to cannonade very briskly from their batteries, and with their wall pieces and musquetry did us infinite mischief.

It was now esteemed most eligible to endeavour to pacify the Nabob's resentment, and supplicate his forgiveness, by the mediation of Monickchund (his principal Minister) to whom Omichund, by Mr. Holwell's direction, wrote a letter, requesting him to intercede in our behalf and prevail upon Serajah Dowla to desist from prosecuting the attack and suffer us to carry on our business as usual under his protection. An Armenian undertook to carry the letter to Monickchund, and was suffered to pass; but we never received any answer.

About noon there was a sudden cessation of firing on the enemy's part, from whence we conceived some hopes that Omichund's letter had been delivered and was likely to produce the effects we wished for. About four o'clock a serjeant, stationed on the front gate of the Factory, came to Mr. Holwell and informed him that one of the Nabob's people had stept into the street and with his hand made signs for us to desist firing. This circumstance gave great satisfaction, and seemed to promise a favourable end of our troubles and distress. Orders were accordingly given for a suspension of hostilities on our part; but, in less than half an hour, intelligence was brought to Mr. Holwell that the enemy were crouding in great numbers under the walls of the Fort, to the eastward and southward, whereupon he hastened up himself to the south-east bastion to view their motions, directing every one to be at their quarters. By this time the besiegers had been suffered to advance close up to the foot of the walls without a single musket being fired upon them; and Mr. Holwell (still imagining every thing would be compromised) forbid all acts of hostility, notwithstanding the enemy pressed in such multitudes upon us. By way of capitulation or conference he waved a flag of truce, which not being understood by the Moors, no regard was paid to it; and while this was transacted to the eastward, a body of the enemy scaled the north-west bastion, as did another party to the southward (where the wall was low) and drove our people from their stations there. As soon as this was known a Dutchman of the Artillery Company broke open the back door of the Factory, and with many others attempted to make their escape that way. The

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besiegers now poured in great numbers from all parts; and Mr. Holwell, finding how things were circumstanced and how impracticable it would be to drive the enemy out of the Fort now that so many had penetrated within the walls, with the west gate of it open, and considering that further opposition would not only be fruitless but might be attended with bad consequences to the garison, he and Captain Buchanan delivered up their swords to a *jemmautdar* that had scaled the walls and seemed to act with some authority among the Moors. This example was quickly followed by every body, who threw down their arms and by that act surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. The Factory was in a few minutes filled with the enemy, who, without loss of time, began plundering every thing they could set their hands on. We were rifled of our watches, buckles, buttons, etc., but no further violence used to our persons. The bales of broad cloth, chests of coral, plate, and treasure, laying in the apartments of the gentlemen who resided in the Factory, were broke open; and the Moors were wholly taken up in plundering till the *Subah* entered the Fort, which was a little after five in the afternoon, carried in a kind of litter; his younger brother accompanied him in another. Serajah Dowla seemed astonished to find so small a garison, and immediately enquired for Mr. Drake, with whom he appeared much incensed. Mr. Holwell was carried to him with his hands bound, and upon complaining of that usage, the Nabob gave orders for loosing his hands, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that not a hair of our heads should be hurt. The Nabob then held a kind of *Durbar* in the open area, sitting in his litter, where Kissindass (who had been kept a prisoner by us during the siege) was sent for, and publicly presented with a *seerpaw*, or honorary dress. The Armenians and Portuguese were at liberty, and suffered to go to their own houses. Between six and seven Serajah Dowla left the Fort, the charge whereof was given to Monickchund, as Governor. They searched every part of the House, to prevent treachery; and in the dusk of the evening the Mussulmen sung a thanksgiving to Allah for the success they had met with.

Hitherto we had fared extremely well; and, as we had been left unmolested in our persons so long, our apprehensions of ill-usage and barbarity began to vanish; and we even entertained hopes not only of getting our liberty but of being suffered to re-establish our affairs and carry on our business upon the terms the *Subah* had pointed out in the *mutchulka* Messrs. Watts and Collet were made to sign: but these hopes and expectations were soon changed into as great a reverse as

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human creatures ever felt. The circumstance of the Black Hole affair, with all the horrors of that night, are so well known, and so much surpass any description that words can paint it in that I shall say no more upon that subject than that a little before eight we were all of us directed to withdraw and remain in a place contiguous to the Black Hole (where our soldiers were usually confined in the stocks). While we were wondering what this should mean and laughing at the oddity of it, a party of fellows came and ordered us to walk into the place before mentioned called the Black Hole, a room or rather dungeon, about 18 feet long and 14 wide, with only two holes, barricaded with iron bars, to let in air, which opened into a low piazza, where a guard was set. Into this hole we were forcibly crammed about eight o'clock in the evening, and the door immediately locked upon us. The number of souls thrust into this dungeon were near 150, among which was one woman and twelve of the wounded officers. The heat and stench presently grew intolerable; some of our company expired very soon after being put in; others grew mad, and having lost their senses died in high delirium. All we could urge to the guard set over us could not prevail upon them either to set us at liberty or separate us into different prisons, which we desired and offered money to obtain, but to no purpose; and when we were released, at eight o'clock the next morning, only 22 came out alive.[1]

The witness being asked, whether he remembered the terms of the *mutchulka* signed between Mr. Watts and the Nabob? he said, to the best of his remembrance, it was that we should carry on trade as other merchants, and without any exemption by our *Firmaund*.

Being asked, whether he had reason to believe that any money or other present was given or offered by Kissindass for the protection given him? he said he did not know or believe that any money or present of any kind was given by Kissindass, or any of his friends, directly or indirectly, to the Governor or any other member of the Committee. He believed, that Mr. Drake really refused to deliver up Kissindass to the Nabob; and said that Omichund was a prisoner; but was not sure whether Kissindass was kept in the Factory against his consent or not; that the reason of Omichund's being a prisoner was that Mr. Drake suspected him of being a fomenter of the troubles. That the only offence with which the Nabob charged Kissindass, when he demanded him, was only that he was a tenant of the *Sircar;* he did not know

[1] End of narrative, as given in Orme's MSS.

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of any other tenant or officer of the Country Government that was protected at Calcutta.

The witness further said that he did not believe the Nabob had any intention of a massacre when he confined the English in the Black Hole; but that his intention was merely to confine them for the night, without knowing whether the prison was great or small. He said that Mr. Holwell was carried to the Nabob after he was released from the Black Hole, and that he heard afterwards that he and three or four other gentlemen were put in irons and sent up the country and very hardly treated; that those who were not confined with Mr. Holwell were set at liberty; that he never heard the Nabob expressed the least concern at the catastrophe that had happened in the Black Hole, but always understood that he received the account with total indifference; he likewise understood that the Nabob sent for Mr. Holwell before him to discover where the treasures were, and that he was extremely surprised to find the Treasury so low; there was not above £5,000 in the Company's Treasury; that, at the retaking of Calcutta, every thing found in the Settlement was restored to those who could make out their claims; the army and navy did not touch any part of it; what was found was not of great value; there was a great deal of the Company's broad cloth but very little private property.

The witness believed that upon the loss of Calcutta there was not a man who was not ruined, excepting one gentleman who had remitted part of his fortune home; and that the loss of the Company was very great: that it was supposed the restitution made afterwards was more than equivalent; a great quantity of the Company's goods were restored at the recapture, both at Calcutta and other places; and whatever came into the hands of the *Sircar* was delivered up again.

The witness being asked what answer the Dutch and French Factories returned to Serajah Dowla's application for assistance, as mentioned in a former part of his evidence? said he believed they declined to assist him.

(*d*) *Evidence of Mr. Richard Becher, p.* 144.

Richard Becher Esquire being again called to inform the Committee what he knew of the state of the Company's affairs after the taking of Calcutta, said that in the August following he joined the President and other gentlemen at Fulta, where soon after they had intelligence that Admiral Watson with troops from Madrass was coming to their assistance, and when it was judged they might be nearly expected, the

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Council deputed Mr. Watts, himself and Mr. Mackett, to meet the Admiral in Balasore Road; that they met him in the month of December, he not arriving sooner.

Being asked by whom Calcutta was retaken? he said that Admiral Watson and the men-of-war proceeded up the river, and that troops were landed; but whether Admiral Watson or the forces took it he cannot answer. That he was on board a ship that was following the squadron, and that the ships assisted in taking it; and was no judge whether the place would ever have been retaken if Admiral Watson had not been there; that the number of troops landed amounted to 400 or 450 Europeans, and 1,700 or 1,800 *sepoys;* that the Moors left Calcutta the second of January, 1757, and that there was no Capitulation.

In answer to the question by whom was Calcutta taken possession of? he replied, it was delivered over by Admiral Watson to Mr. Drake.

Being asked whether he remembered the first idea of setting up Meer Jaffier and deposing Sujah Dowla? he said he could not be positive: he believed about the month of May 1757.

And being asked if he recollected what money was stipulated to be given to the Select Committee in case that affair was brought about? he said that his situation confined him to Calcutta during the years 1757, 1758 and 1759, and therefore could not give any answer about transactions out of Calcutta. That Mr. Watts, who was Agent for the Company at Muxadabad, wrote word that Meer Jaffier would make some consideration to the navy, army and others who should be instrumental in promoting his advancement to the *Subaship*, by way of donation. That by *others* he understood at that time was Mr. Watts himself, who was upon the spot at Muxadabad; and that he could not recollect who was upon the spot besides.

He said he was the first person who mentioned the reasonableness and propriety that the Gentlemen of the Committee, who really set the whole machine in motion, should be likewise considered on that occasion; and, in consequence, that Mr. Watts was wrote to, to the effect he had mentioned, *viz.* that as there was to be donations to the army, navy, &c. it was but reasonable the other Gentlemen should be considered. He said that this letter does not appear upon the Public Proceedings. That he should conclude that, on the Public Service, everything was to be entered by the Select Committee; but this letter was not so considered. The Select Committee consisted of the President, Mr. Drake, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick and

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himself. The Committee was appointed by the Court of Directors, and Colonel Clive was taken in as Second.

The witness further informed your Committee that, so far from any sum being stipulated to his knowledge, he did not know anything of the sum till some time after Meer Jaffier was established in the *Subahship*. That some time after an account was sent to the Committee that Meer Jaffier thought proper to make presents to some particular gentlemen, and the Committee had wrote word that they should not interfere in any private donations from the Nabob to the Company's servants; that the sums he knew of were to the Governor two *lack* and eighty thousand rupees; Colonel Clive the same; to the rest of the gentlemen two *lack* and forty thousand each. That he always understood the Admiral was considered as Commander-in-Chief of the navy in a sum separate, which he does not know the amount of; that he esteemed Colonel Clive as a member of the Committee and did not esteem Admiral Watson as belonging to it. He believes one Gentleman of the Council in Bengal (Mr. Bottom[1]) did send a small sum to the representatives of Admiral Watson, but he does not know who he was; that he knows of no stipulation for particular sums, but each of the Council who were not members of the Committee received a *lack* of rupees; they were six or seven in number. An account was sent in writing. It was a letter directed to the Governor; he does not know who it was signed by but believes by Mr. Watts, Colonel Clive and Mr. Manningham; he considered it as a private letter, and therefore apprehends it was not entered. He knows of no other private donations but has heard of such; he cannot recollect from whom; and never discoursed with Mr. Watts upon the subject.

Being questioned whether, in the course of the negociation with Meer Jaffier he knew anything of two treaties of the same date, one real and the other fictitious? the witness said that he apprehended the only treaty stood publicly upon the Company's Records; that while this affair was upon the anvil Mr. Watts employed a black merchant, residing at Calcutta (by name Omichund) who insisted on having no less a sum than twenty *lack* of rupees from Meer Jaffier in case of success; that Mr. Watts represented to the gentlemen in Calcutta that Meer Jaffier was so averse to the allowing that sum to Omichund that he would rather all treaties should be broke off than consent to it, or something to that effect; and further represented that he himself believed that Omichund was acting a double part and would deceive both

[1] Mr. Boddam.

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the English and Jaffier. In consequence of these representations it was judged by the gentlemen that Omichund was no way meriting that reward, and therefore they did not insist on it, but thought it necessary for the security and safety of the Company to keep Omichund from the knowledge of their sentiments; in consequence of which two papers were transmitted to Mr. Watts, in one of which Omichund was mentioned and the other not; the design being to prevent the ill consequences which might have ensued if Omichund got a notion that he was not to have the money. The witness believes the two papers were signed by Admiral Watson and the Gentlemen of the Committee.

Being asked whether Admiral Watson signed the fictitious agreement, or whether he, at that time, heard of Admiral Watson's scrupling or refusing to sign? he said he thinks the fictitious treaty was sent to him to be signed, but does not recollect whether that and the other treaty were transmitted to him by writing or by messenger, or by whom; neither does he know whether he signed it or not, nor does he recollect that he heard of his refusing to sign it.

The witness further said, in relation to the transaction with Omichund, that he thinks he heard that Omichund insisted upon the sum of five *per cent.* on all the late Nabob's treasure exclusive of the sum of twenty *lack;* and threatened to betray the whole negociation if his demands were not complied with; that Mr. Watts represented the apprehensions he had of his doing so if he was not kept in the dark.

The witness knew of no letter from Mr. Watts saying he believed the Nabob's treasures amounted to 40,000,000, and therefore dissuading the Committee from agreeing to give five *per cent.* upon that sum but rather to give a specified sum.

The witness being asked, whether he knew any thing of the additional article to the treaty with Jaffier Aly Khan? He believed the 13th Article or something similar was added, and does not recollect the circumstances of transmitting the Articles to the Directors.

It is twenty-nine years since the witness left England in the Company's service.

(*e*) *Evidence of Francis Sykes, Esq., p.* 145.

Being requested to inform the Committee what he knew of the transaction with Omichund, said that in the year 1757 he was stationed at the subordinate Factory called Cassimbuzar in Council; that he does not know particularly the terms demanded by Omichund; but being on a

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visit to Mr. Watts he found him under great anxiety; that he took him aside and told him Omichund had been threatening to betray them to Serajah Dowla and would have them all murdered that night unless he would give him some assurances that the sum promised him (by Mr. Watts) should be made good; that upon this visit Mr. Watts further said that he was under the greatest anxiety how to counteract the designs of Omichund; the witness could so far say on his own part that Omichund's conduct in the whole scene of that business was always suspected and that he had spies upon Mr. Watts's conduct. He apprehends that nothing was reduced to paper at that time; that it was only talked of between Omichund and Mr. Watts, and believes it was only a verbal promise; he further said that Serajah Dowla was at Muxadavad at that time, and was visited frequently by Mr. Watts; that he (the witness) was in the Service about twenty years, from 1749 to 1769.

(*f*) *Evidence of Sir George Pocock, p.*, 146.

To state what circumstances he knew concerning the attack upon Chandernagore. Who informed your Committee that he did not enter the river Bengal with Admiral Watson, but that the place surrendered to that Admiral; that it was afterwards garisoned by officers and seamen, and in June a detachment of a lieutenant, seven midshipmen, and fifty private men was sent to Lord Clive.

The witness was clearly of opinion that the revolution could not have been brought about without the assistance of the King's ships then in the river; he does not recollect the number of the King's troops, but thinks there might be about 300. The Company's troops assisted in taking the place.

(*g*) *Evidence of Lord Clive, p.* 146.

The Right Honourable Lord Clive, being desired to relate to your Committee what he knew of the transaction of the above period, said, that when he returned to England in 1755, the first time, the Court of Directors solicited him to go out again; they obtained for him His Majesty's Commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, and appointed him Deputy Governor of Fort Saint David and to succeed to the Government of Madrass; but before he went to his government they wished him to undertake an expedition of great importance, provided Colonel Scott (who had been strongly recommended by the Duke of Cumberland) did not chuse to undertake the expedition himself. The intent of the expedition was to join the Mharattas at Bombay, and in conjunction

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with them to attack the French, in the *subah* of the Decan; for which he carried out three companies of the King's artillery, and 300 or 400 of the King's troops. That when he arrived at Bombay in the beginning of the year 1756 there was a truce between the two nations, and Colonel Scott was dead. He found there Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock with his squadron. It was thought advisable that these troops should not lie idle, and that there was a fair opportunity of taking Ghereah, a strong fort, possessed by an Eastern Prince (Angria) and who, upon all occasions, very much distressed the Company. That he commanded the land troops on that expedition; and Mr. Watson commanded by sea. The enterprise succeeded, and the prize-money amounted to £150,000. That although he commanded the land forces by virtue of his rank he shared only as a Captain of a man-of-war. Admiral Watson thought his case so hard that he very generously offered to make his share equal to Sir George Pocock's; he thought himself as much obliged to him for the offer as if he had accepted it, but he declined the offer. That after he went to his Deputy Government at Fort Saint David, about April 1756; that in August 1756, he was called from thence to Madrass, on the news of the capture of Calcutta. It was long debated by the Council what force should be sent to retake Calcutta and who should command it; it was decided in his favour, and the wish of every officer that he should go upon that expedition.

In the beginning of October the troops were ready, and there was received on board Admiral Watson's squadron, and other transports, about 700 Europeans belonging to the Company and 1,200 *sepoys*. There was likewise a detachment of 250 of Adlercron's Regiment to serve as marines. That they embarked about the 15th of October; and after they had been some time at sea a Council was held on board Admiral Watson's ship to settle the distribution of prize-money; and it was proposed that it should be settled upon the same plan as it was at Ghereah. That he objected to it, because he thought it bore too hard upon the military; and would not consent to a division of prize-money upon any other division than of two equal parts, that one half should go to the military and the other to the navy. This was agreed to, and they arrived in Ballasore Road early in December; and it was agreed that the squadron should go up the river to Calcutta; and he looks upon that attempt to be as daring and meritorious an attempt as ever was made in His Majesty's sea service. That they met with some slight obstructions till they approached near Calcutta. When the

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squadron came within a few miles of Calcutta, he desired Admiral Watson would give orders for landing the Company's troops; accordingly they were landed; and at the same time the ships went by water, the troops went by land. The garrison of Calcutta, upon the approach of the ships and of the land forces, abandoned the Fort after a few shots fired by the squadron and a few returned by the Fort. That when he entered the Fort at the head of the Company's troops Captain Coote presented to him a commission from Admiral Watson, appointing him Governor of the Fort. That he denied any authority Admiral Watson had to appoint an inferior officer in the King's service Governor of the Fort, and told Captain Coote if he disobeyed his orders he would put him under arrest. Captain Coote obeyed and desired leave to acquaint Admiral Watson with these particulars; upon which Admiral Watson sent Captain Speke to him, to know by what authority he took upon himself the command of that Fort. He answered, 'By the authority of His Majesty's Commission, as Lieutenant-Colonel, and being Commander-in-Chief of the land forces.' Captain Speke went on board with that message; he returned, and brought for answer that if he did not abandon the Fort he should be fired at. In answer, he said he could not answer for the consequences, but that he would not abandon the Fort, upon which Captain Latham was sent; and when the matter was talked over coolly, it was soon settled; for he told Captain Speke and Captain Latham repeatedly that if Admiral Watson would come and command himself he had no manner of objection. That Admiral Watson did come on shore; he delivered the keys of the garrison into his hands, and he delivered them to the Governor and Council of Calcutta.

His Lordship further said, that he was sent from Madrass with a power independant of the Governor and Council of Calcutta. He commanded in Bengal as the King's officer and the Company's both. The King's troops, when on shore, were under him; he was Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in Bengal by a Commission from the Governor and Council of Madrass on his setting out on that expedition. The Governor and Council of Madrass looked on the Government of Bengal as annihilated. They thought if he had not the independent command the Governor and Council of Bengal would retain the troops, which they thought necessary should return to Madrass. He took the command as a military officer. The Governor and Council of Calcutta put their troops under his orders.

That when he came to examine into the state of the Fort, he found it was not defensible; it had no ditch; the bastions did not deserve the

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name of bastions; the Fort was surrounded by houses within forty yards of the walls, which commanded the fortifications; that he suggested to the Governor and Council the necessity of destroying them, and making a ditch round the Fort without delay; that he was convinced that a defensive war would prove destructive; he desired Admiral Watson would land the King's troops to reinforce those of the Company; great part of the forces that went out from Madrass upon this expedition were not arrived; the Admiral landed the King's forces, amounting to 250 men; and these, added to the Company's, might make 700 Europeans and 1,200 *sepoys;* that with these troops they took the field, at about four miles from Calcutta, and encamped in a strong situation, and entrenched themselves in expectation of Serajah Dowla and his army, who were upon their march to Calcutta; Serajah Dowla in a few days arrived; passed within about half a mile of their camp, and encamped his army at the back of Calcutta; at the same time that he was marching to this ground he made offers of treaty, and intimated to him by letters, that he wished to conclude a Peace with the East India Company; he encamped about six o'clock in the evening at the back of Calcutta; by this time the terror of his march had frightened away all the natives, and his Lordship saw that if something was not done, the squadron and land forces would soon be starved out of the country; that he sent Mr. Walsh and Mr. Scrafton to the Nabob about seven that evening; they returned about eleven, and assured him they thought the Nabob was not sincere in his intentions for peace, and that he meant treachery; that he went immediately on board Admiral Watson's ship and represented to him the necessity of attacking the Nabob without delay; and desired the assistance of 400 or 500 sailors to carry the ammunition, which he assented to; the sailors were landed about one o'clock in the morning; about two the troops were under arms, and about four they marched to the attack of the Nabob's camp; it was his intentions (*sic*) to have seized his cannon and attacked his head-quarters, but when day light appeared there arose so thick a fog; that it was impossible for the army to see three yards before them, which continued till they had marched through the whole army; he cannot ascertain the loss the enemy suffered but it was reported very considerable; our loss amounted to about 150 killed and wounded; that they continued their march to the Fort, where the troops were allowed an hour to rest, and ordered back to camp. In the evening Serajah Dowla and his army got to about eight or ten miles from them; he sent a letter to him and Admiral Watson that he desired to treat

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with them; upon which it was agreed to receive his proposals without delay, and a treaty was concluded, which is upon the Company's Records; the reason that it was not more advantageous than it was, was that they had just received advice of a war with France, and the French had within the garrison of Chandernagore almost as many Europeans[1] as they had in the field; and if they had joined Serajah Dowla before the conclusion of the Peace they must have been undone; for there wanted only some intelligent person to advise him not to fight at all, and they should have been ruined; while this treaty was carrying on the French sent a deputation to propose neutrality; it being long debated whether a neutrality should be accepted of, Serajah Dowla forbid the English to attack the French, and declared, if they did, he would become their enemy; that he had no doubt but he would become their enemy the first opportunity that offered and that he meant, with their assistance, to drive them out of Bengal; he supplied them with money publicly, and sent 1,500 men to be ready to give them their assistance: during this time, a reinforcement of troops was received from Bombay, and it was taken into consideration by the Committee, whether they should undertake the attack of Chandernagore, at the risk of displeasing the Nabob and having his army to encounter; that the members of this Committee were, Mr. Drake, himself, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher: Mr. Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality; Major Kilpatrick for a neutrality; his Lordship gave his opinion for the attack of the place; Mr. Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make any thing of; Major Kilpatrick then asked him whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagore, and the Nabob's army at the same time? He said he thought they could; upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion and to be of his Lordship's; they voted Mr. Drake's no opinion at all; and Major Kilpatrick and he, being the majority, a letter was wrote to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagore. The land forces marched first and beset the place, made themselves masters of the out works, and erected two batteries, one about 120 yards off the walls, of six 32 pounders, and another of three 32 pounders about 150 yards off the walls; by this time the Squadron came up the river; that they surmounted difficulties which he believed no other ships could have done; and it is impossible for him to do the officers of the Squadron justice upon that occasion: the place surrendered to them, and it was in a great measure taken by them; but his Lordship does believe, that the place would have been taken by the

[1] i.e., including soldiers and European civilians.

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army if the Squadron had not come up; it must have fallen into their hands, but not so soon, and he must say, that he thinks if the land forces and *sepoys* could have been landed in Calcutta every event which has happened would have happened without the assistance of the Fleet. That after Chandernagore was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the Committee, as well as to others, that they could not stop there, but must go further; that having established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour by force to drive them out again; that they had numberless proofs of his intentions, many upon record; and his Lordship said, he did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution. Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee agreed upon the necessity of it; and the management of that revolution was, with consent of the Committee, left to Mr. Watts and him. Mr. Watts was resident at Muxadavad; he corresponded with him in cypher; and his Lordship sent the intelligence to the Governor and the Committee; and Mr. Watson was always consulted, but declined being a member of that Committee. Great dissatisfaction arising among Serajah Dowla's troops, a favourable opportunity offered and Meer Jaffer was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Serajah Dowla; in consequence of which a treaty was formed, which, amongst others, consisted of the following articles:—that £120,000 should be given to the Company; £600,000 to the European sufferers; £600,000 to the navy and army; about £250,000 to the natives of the country; and about £100,000 to the Armenians. When this was settled, his Lordship remembers that Mr. Becher suggested to the Committee that he thought that Committee, who managed the great machine of Government, was intitled to some consideration as well as the army and navy. In consequence of which Mr. Watts was wrote to upon the subject: but what that consideration was he never knew till after the battle of Plassy; and when he was informed of it by Mr. Watts, he thought it too much and proposed that the Council should have a share in it; the sums received were, he believed, as Mr. Becher had stated. Upon this being known, Mr. Watson applied that he was intitled to a share in that money. He agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made, that Mr. Watson was not one of the Committee; but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the Governor's and his own: about three or four consented to it, but the rest would not. That he sent the proportion of the share he had received. Some years ago the heirs of Admiral

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Watson filed a bill in Chancery, wherein it was set forth as a right; he denied that right, but never had any objection to add his proportion to the rest, if that claim was withdrawn. The money was paid by instalments, in the same proportion as to the army and navy; and he sent his proportion of the first instalment to Mr. Pocock for Admiral Watson. The law-suit dropt, and he has heard no more of it since. His Lordship observed, that at that time there were no covenants existing; the Company's servants were at liberty to receive presents; they always had received presents; and his idea of presents is as follows: when presents are received as the price of services to the nation, to the Company, and to that Prince who bestowed those presents; when they are not exacted from him by compulsion; when he is in a state of independence and can do with his money what he pleases, and when they are not received to the disadvantage of the Company; he holds presents so received not dishonourable; but when they are received from a dependant Prince; when they are received for no services whatever; and when they are received not voluntarily; he holds the receipt of such presents dishonourable. He never made the least secret of the presents he had received: he acquainted the Court of Directors with it; and they, who are his masters, and were the only persons who had a right to object to his receiving those presents, approved of it.

His Lordship then read to the Committee the following extract from a printed pamphlet, intitled, 'A letter to the Proprietors of the East India Stock, from Lord Clive'; together with two letters thereunto annexed.

Everything being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the Secret Committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob, whom we entirely defeated. His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was in a few days in possession of the Government and of a Revenue of three millions and a half sterling per annum. The one half of the Secret Committee being then present at the Capital, and a report made by the Nabob's Ministers of the state of the Treasury, it was settled that half the sum stipulated by Treaty should be paid in three months, and the other half in three years; all conditionally that we supported him in the Government. The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of Eastern Princes, made presents, both to those of his own Court and to such of the English who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprise, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great Prince. I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour; I never sought to conceal it; but declared publicly, in my letters to the Secret Committee of the India Directors, that the Nabob's generosity had

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made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India.[1] What injustice was this to the Company? they could expect no more than what was stipulated in the treaty: or what injunction was I under to refuse a present from him, who had the power to make me one as the reward of honourable services? I know of none; I had surely myself a particular claim, by having devoted myself to the Company's military service and neglected all commercial advantages. What reason can then be given, or what pretence could the Company have to expect, that I, after having risked my life so often in their service, should deny myself the only honourable opportunity that ever offered of acquiring a fortune without prejudice to them, who, it is evident, would not have had more for my having had less? When the Company had acquired a million and a half sterling and a revenue of near £100,000 *per annum* from the success of their forces under my command; when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta; and when individuals had, in consequence of that success, acquired large estates; what would the World have said had I come home and rested upon the generosity of the present Court of Directors? It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company, were the principles that governed all my actions; and that, had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being Commander-in-Chief and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the custom of that country I was intitled to, the *jaghire* itself, great as it is, would have been an object scarce worth my consideration.

The city of Muxadavad is as extensive, populous, and rich, as the city of London; with this difference that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any of the last city. These, as well as every other man of property, made me the greatest offers (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required), and, had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of: but preferring the reputation of the English Nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then but to the last hour

[1] 'For my own part be assured, gentlemen, it is solely a desire of seeing your affairs, important as they now are, firmly established, that detains me in Bengal. The Nabob's generosity has enabled me to live with satisfaction in England, and the frequent attacks I have had of a nervous disorder make me desirous of an opportunity of changing this climate' (Clive to Secret Committee, 6 August, 1757).

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of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal, and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one single instance of my being influenced by interested motives to the Company's disadvantage, or to do any act that could reflect dishonour to my Country, or the Company, in any one action of my administration either as Governor or Commanding Officer. I little expected ever to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received such treatment from the Court of Directors, especially after the many public and honourable testimonies of approbation I had received.

Copy of Company's Letter to Colonel Clive, March 8, 1758.

SIR,—Our sentiments of gratitude for the many great services you have rendered to this Company, together with the thanks of the General Court, have been hitherto conveyed through the channel of our General Letters; but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had so great a share of action, both in the Cabinet and the Field, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct, and intrepidity, which you have so eminently exerted on this glorious occasion, as well as for the great and solid advantages resulting therefrom to the East India Company: we earnestly wish your health may permit your continuance in India for such further term as will give you an opportunity of securing the foundation you have laid; as likewise to give your assistance in putting the Company's mercantile and civil affairs on a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now transmitted. For this purpose, as well as in consideration of your eminent services, we have appointed you Governor and President of Fort William in Bengal and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the General Letter by this conveyance; to which we have annexed an additional allowance of £1,000 a year, as a testimony of our great regard for you.

* * * * *

(*Page* 149). As to the fictitious treaty Lord Clive informed your Committee that when Mr. Watts had nearly accomplished the means of carrying that revolution into execution he acquainted him by letter that a fresh difficulty had started; that Omichund had insisted upon five *per cent.* on all the Nabob's treasures, and thirty *lack* in money, and threatened, if he did not comply with that demand, he would immediately acquaint Serajah Dowla with what was going on, and Mr. Watts should be put to death. That when he received this advice he thought art and policy

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warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain; and that his Lordship himself formed the plan of the fictitious treaty to which the Committee consented; it was sent to Admiral Watson, who objected to the signing of it; but to the best of his remembrance gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to sign his name upon it. That his Lordship never made any secret of it; he thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times. He had no interested motive in doing it, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man. That he never heard that Mr. Watts had made a promise to Omichund of any money directly or indirectly. That when he was last abroad he had given the same account, which is entered in the Public Proceedings. That Omichund was employed only as an Agent to Mr. Watts as having most knowledge of Serajah Dowla's Court; and had commission to deal with three or four more of the Court. Omichund's only chance of obtaining retribution was depending on this treaty. He did not believe that Omichund was personally known to Meer Jaffier but through Mr. Watts.

When the army marched Meer Jaffier had promised that he and his son would join them with a large force at Cutwa. When they arrived there they saw no appearance of force to join them but received letters from Meer Jaffier, informing him that the Nabob had suspected his design and made him swear on the Koran that he would not act against him, and therefore he could not give the promised assistance; but that when they met Serajah Dowla in the field he would then act. At the same time Omichund received two or three letters from the Nabob's camp that the affair was discovered and that Meer Jaffier and the Nabob were one. That his Lordship was much puzzled: for he thought it extremely hazardous to pass a river which is only fordable in one place, march 150 miles up country, and risk a battle, when if a defeat ensued not one man would have returned to tell it. In this situation he called a Council of War, and the question he put was, whether they should cross the river, and attack Serajah Dowla with their own force alone, or wait for further intelligence? Every member gave their opinion against the attack till they had received further intelligence except Captains Coote and Grant. His Lordship observed this was the only Council of War he ever held, and if he had abided by that Council it would have been the ruin of the East India Company.[1] After about twenty-four hours' mature consideration his

[1] Clive had held other Councils of War (see Vol. II., p. 218, No. 223, and p. 222, No, 230) but he apparently means that this was the only one he had held to decide whether he should or should not fight.

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Lordship said he took upon himself to break through the opinion of the Council and ordered the army to cross the river. He did not recollect any memorial from Captain Coote upon that occasion, nor was he of rank sufficient at that time to have any influence upon his conduct; and whatever he did upon that occasion he did without receiving advice from any one.

Lord Clive further said, in explanation of the aforesaid evidence, that Calcutta was taken by Serajah Dowla in June 1756 upon the pretence of a black merchant being protected by the English; that Mr. Watts was two or three months employed in the negociation of the revolution, and the correspondence was carried on entirely between himself and Mr. Watts; that he did not know exactly the amount of the treasures of Serajah Dowla, but believed about three or four millions; that the final terms of the Agreement between Meer Jaffier and Mr. Watts were not agreed on till a few days before the march of the army; that Mr. Lushington was the person who signed Admiral Watson's name by his Lordship's order.

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(*Page* 150). In regard to the fate of Serajah Dowla, his Lordship said he had been informed, that he fled and took shelter in a *fackier's* house, whose nose and ears he had cut off upon a former occasion; that there was a brother of Meer Jaffier's at Rajamaul (a small distance from the place where he took refuge) that this *fackier* sent immediate notice to him that he had Serajah Dowla in his house, and he should keep him till he could seize him; that the Nabob's brother immediately set out with a few attendants and seized him, and that he was brought from thence to the city and immediately put to death by Meerham, Meer Jaffier's son; it is said without the father's knowledge; that his Lordship knew nothing of it till the next day, when the Nabob made him acquainted with it, and apologized for his conduct by saying that he had raised a mutiny among his troops; and this was all his Lordship knew of the matter.

Lord Clive further said in regard to the fictitious treaty that he did not recollect whether Mr. Lushington brought it back with Mr. Watson's name to it. To the best of his remembrance Mr. Lushington told him that Admiral Watson gave him leave to sign his name to the fictitious treaty. He did not recollect whether Mr. Watson's seal was put to it, but believes that Mr. Watson's name and a seal were put to both the treaties before they were despatched to Mr. Watts. He is not certain whether Mr. Lushington signed in his presence at Calcutta or the

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French Gardens. Roy Doulub did not receive five *per cent.* on all the money paid but on some of it, particularly not on that which was paid to the army and navy. Roy Doulub was one of the Nabob's generals.

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(*h*) *Evidence of John Walsh, Esq., p.* 149.

John Walsh Esquire, being here called to give an account of what he knew of the fictitious treaty, said that he and Mr. Lushington went together to Calcutta with the treaty. A letter from Colonel Clive was carried by him and Mr. Lushington from the French Gardens, where the army then lay, to the Committee, and he returned with the treaties signed in the evening; that he cannot recollect whether he went to Admiral Watson, nor now recollect the whole transaction; he only recollects that the treaties were sent and brought back again; that his idea has always been that Mr. Watson refused to sign the fictitious treaty but permitted Mr. Lushington to do it for him; that the fictitious treaty was called *loll coggedge*, from being wrote on red paper; and he remembered Omichund was very earnest in his enquiry after that particular paper, after the Nabob was put upon the *musnud*.

(*i*) *Evidence of Captain Brereton, p.* 151.

Captain Brereton who was Lieutenant with Admiral Watson in the *Kent* in the year 1757; and being asked whether he had heard Admiral Watson make any declarations concerning the treaty that was to deceive Omichund? said that he had often heard the Admiral speak of it; that it was proposed to him to sign a fictitious treaty to deceive Omichund of thirty *lack*, which he refused to do as dishonourable to him as an officer and an affront to propose it to him; that it was then proposed somebody should sign it for him which he also refused and said he would wash his hands of it, he would have nothing to do with it, he was a stranger to deception, they might do as they pleased.

* * * * *

And being further asked, whether he believed Admiral Watson ever put his seal to it? he said he believed not: he was sure he had too good a heart.

Being further asked if he knew whether Admiral Watson, before his death, had ever heard of his name being put to the fictitious treaty? he said he had; it was communicated to him by Captain Martin on his death-bed; and that the Secret Committee had agreed to share the

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thirty *lack*, stipulated in the Agreement for Omichund, among themselves, and excluding the Admiral of his share because he had not signed the treaty. The Admiral said that he always thought the transaction dishonourable and, as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish to stay any longer among them; this was just before his death, which he believes was the 16th August 1757. The witness said he was not present at this conversation but in the next room, and that it was communicated to him by Captain Martin (who is now dead) the moment he came out of the room.

Being asked if he was sure Admiral Watson did not put his seal to it? he answered that he had heard him say so in repeated conversations. He further said that he never heard that Admiral Watson applied to the Select Committee for a part of this money; but that after his death his executors did.

Being asked if he ever heard Admiral Watson mention who was the person that proposed to him to sign the fictitious treaty? said the Admiral did not mention the gentleman's name; but said (with a sneer) it was a member of the Secret Committee.

As for the Admiral's signing the real treaty he never heard him mention it particularly; that he had heard him say he thought it an extraordinary measure to depose a man they had so lately made a solemn treaty with; but that, as he was instructed by the King to afford the East India Company assistance in their affairs, he assisted them with his forces according to his duty; and he always understood, from the Admiral's conversation, that he did sign the real treaty, but never heard him say whether he approved of it or not.

* * * * *

Being further asked whether, when he used the words of the Admiral, that he declared he always thought the transaction dishonourable, he meant that it was dishonourable to make a false treaty to deceive Omichund or to use the Admiral's hand and seal to the treaty when he did not put it himself? He said he understood it that it was dishonourable to make a false treaty to deceive Omichund.

* * * * *

Being also asked what he understood the Admiral to mean when he said 'he was a stranger to deception, they might do as they pleased,' he said 'in the transaction of the Company's affairs.' And if he understood Admiral Watson to mean by these words that they might put his name to the fictitious treaty if they pleased? he said he did not; he could not conceive that the Admiral would give his consent to any

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transaction that he held dishonourable that should insinuate his approbation of deception.

In the course of the above examination the witness was questioned as to the following points. . . . If it had not been for the assistance of His Majesty's ships and troops he thought the East India Company could have succeeded in their different enterprises, and particularly in effecting the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier? He believed not.

Whether the witness was not at the time of Admiral Watson's illness suspended His Majesty's service? He never was suspended.

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(*j*) *Evidence of John Cooke, Esq., p.* 152.

He informed the Committee that he knew there was such a treaty [the fictitious treaty]; that after the battle of Plassey he waited upon Admiral Watson with a message from the Select Committee; that amongst other things this fictitious treaty was mentioned in conversation; that the Admiral said he had not signed it (shrugging up his shoulders) but had left them to do as they pleased, alluding, as the witness supposed, to Colonel Clive and the Select Committee. This conversation, as the witness thought, was in July, and the Admiral was then in good health and spirits.

The witness further said that he had no doubt that the Admiral knew his name was to it; and he understood from what dropped from him that he had secretly permitted his name to be used; he believed he did not publicly give his consent, but had known of it and made no objection; he did not conceive his name could have been put without his permission. The conversation was only between the Admiral and himself; the Admiral, in that conversation, certainly did not express any resentment or surprise that his name was put. And being questioned again as to the purport of that conversation? he said, if he remembered right, when the circumstance of the fictitious treaty was mentioned, he shrugged up his shoulders and said (laughingly) that he had not signed it but that he had left it to them to do as they pleased.

Being asked whether it was from this circumstance that he collected the Admiral knew of his name being put? he said it was, and from this circumstance only. And he further said it gave him no surprize that an officer of Admiral Watson's rank had agreed to have his name put to a treaty he could not sign, because he was convinced the Admiral knew the motives for which such a fictitious treaty was made, and that, though he could not sign it, he had no objection to Omichund being

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lulled into a security, and preventing the whole design from being discovered and defeated.[1]

Being asked if Admiral Watson told him so much? he said, by no means; these were his reasons why he was not surprized. He further said that the Admiral's consent to having his name put to the fictitious treaty was never communicated to the Select Committee.

* * * * *

(*k*) *Evidence of Sir Eyre Coote, p.* 153.

Sir Eyre Coote being called upon to give an account of the Transactions in Bengal, in the year 1757, that came within his knowledge, said that he was at that time Captain of the 39th Regiment, doing duty on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Watson; that he was a member of the Council-of-war, previous to the battle of Plassy, upon the 21st of June, 1757; that Colonel Clive informed the Council he found he could not depend on Meer Jaffier for any thing more than standing neuter in case the army came to an action with the Nabob; that Monsieur Law, with a body of French, was then within three days' march of joining the Nabob, whose army, by the best intelligence he could get, was about 50,000 men; and that he called the Council together for their opinion, whether, in those circumstances, it would be prudent to come to an immediate action with the Nabob, or fortify themselves where they were and remain till the *monsoon* was over and the Mahrattas could be brought into the country to join us; the question being then put, began with the President and eldest members, whose opinions were—

Against coming to an immediate action.	*For coming to an immediate action.*
Lieutenant-Colonel Clive.	Major Eyre Coote.
Major James Fitzpatrick.	Captain Alexander Grant.
Major Archibald Grant.	Captain John Cudmore.
Captain Frederick Gaupp.	Captain Andrew Armstrong.
Captain Thomas Rumbold.	Captain George Muir.
Captain Christian Fischer.	Captain Robert Campbell.
Captain Charles Palmer.	Captain-Lieutenant Peter Castaires.
Captain La Boom.	
Captain R. Waggoner.	
Captain Corneil.	
Captain-Lieutenant William Jennings.	
Captain-Lieutenant Francis Parshaw.	
Captain-Lieutenant Moltair.	

[1] Apparently Mr. Cooke thought the case similar to the practice of putting false instructions in the hands of scouts, so as to mislead the enemy if the scouts happen to be captured, or even with orders to allow themselves to be captured.

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The reasons for the witness's opinion in this Council were, that having hitherto met with nothing but success, which had consequently given great spirits to the men, any delay might cast a damp; secondly that the arrival of Monsieur Law would not only strengthen the Nabob's army and add vigor to their councils but likewise weaken our force considerably, as the number of Frenchmen we had entered into our service, after the capture of Chandernagore, would undoubtedly desert to their countrymen upon every opportunity; thirdly, the distance from Calcutta was so great, that all communication from thence would certainly be cut off, and therefore there was no reason to hope for supplies, and consequently the army must be soon reduced to the greatest distress. The witness further said that if it should be impracticable to come to an immediate action, his opinion then was for returning to Calcutta, the consequence of which must have been disgrace to the army, and inevitable destruction to the Company's affairs.

The witness further said that about an hour after the Council broke up, Colonel Clive informed him, unasked (Captain Robert Campbell, to the best of his recollection, was with him at the time), that, notwithstanding the resolution of the Council-of-war, he intended to march the next morning, and accordingly gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness, leaving a subaltern officer's command in the Fort of Cutwa; that the army consisted of 750 men in battalion, including 100 *topazzes*, 2,100 *sepoys*, and 150 artillery, including 50 sailors; of these about 150, besides sailors, might be of the King's troops.

Sir Eyre Coote here read a description of the Battle of Plassy, and was afterwards desired, by the Committee, to give an account of the attack upon Chandernagore, in order to shew the difference of loss when acting against European or Indian forces; and it appeared that the loss was much more considerable at the attack of Chandernagore.

The witness being asked, whether, at the attack of the Nabob's camp, near Calcutta, Lord Clive's Secretary, Aid de Camp, and Captain of Grenadiers, were not killed? said, they were, and a great many officers and a great many men.

Being asked whether he presented any memorial to Lord Clive after the Council-of-war held at Cutwa? said, he never did; on the contrary, Lord Clive spoke to him first, unasked, of the army marching, without his having mentioned a word to him upon the subject.

Being asked, whether the sailors, at the Battle of Plassy, belonged to the Company's ships, or to the men-of-war? he said, he believed some were from the Indiamen, but the officers who commanded them were belonging to the men-of-war. The garison of Chandernagore was

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composed entirely of seamen from the King's ships; he could not tell whether the seamen from the *Indiamen* were not first turned over on board the King's ships; but he found a Minute on his Journal, wherein it was agreed that the officers and sailors belonging to the squadron, which were with the army on the expedition to Muxadavad, were not to share with the army in the prize money but with the navy.

The witness being desired to give his opinion, whether, without the assistance of the King's troops and ships in the whole of the transactions in 1757, the enterprizes would have succeeded? he said he had no idea that they could:—And whether the army under Colonel Clive alone could have taken Chandernagore without the assistance of the navy and King's troops? he said, he thought the probability was against them.

(*l*) *Evidence of Lord Clive, p.* 154.

Lord Clive observed, that in a former part of his evidence he had made a mistake in respect to the number of the Council-of-war who on the 21st of June voted for the immediate attack of Serajah Dowla, and said, he might very easily have been led into the mistake, the event having happened fifteen years ago, and he not having consulted a single record from that time to this; that although he might have informed Captain Coote of his resolution to attack Serajah Dowla, notwithstanding the opinion of that Council-of-war, he did imagine that he had not concluded upon the whole plan till twenty-four hours after, because the troops did not cross the river to make that attack till the 22d of June in the evening, and the discourse between Captain Coote and him was the 21st in the morning. His Lordship also observed, with regard to another part of his evidence, that he certainly should not have declared that Admiral Watson had consented to have his name put to the fictitious treaty if he had not understood so from Mr. Lushington, but that he would have ordered his name to be put, whether he had consented or not.

Your Committee take the same occasion to insert the following extract of a letter, which a member of the Committee informed the Committee he had lately read in Lord Clive's Letter Book, from his Lordship to the Select Committee at Fort Saint George, the 12th of September, 1757.

'It is with deepest concern I acquaint you of Admiral Watson's death; his zeal for the service of the Company, and the extraordinary success it was crowned with, both at Gheriah and in this expedition, will make his memory, particularly in India, survive to latest ages.'

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(Page 155) Lord Clive in further explanation of the evidence of Sir Eyre Coote, stated in a former part of the report, went on to relate that on the 22nd June 1757, in the evening the army crossed the river and marched all night, amidst incessant rains, until they reached Plassey Grove; and early in the morning the army of Serajah Dowla attacked them in that situation. That as the description of the battle had been already given in part by Sir Eyre Coote, he should only observe that its being attended with so little bloodshed arose from two causes:—first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them a mischief; the other was that Serajah Dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty upon that occasion. His Lordship proceeded to relate that, after the army was routed, Serajah Dowla for the sake of expedition, fled to the city upon an elephant, which he reached that night, thirty miles from the field of battle. That the troops pursued the routed army about nine miles to a place called Doudpur, and in the evening Meer Jaffier sent him word that he, and many more of the great officers, and a very considerable part of the army, were in expectation of his orders. That he sent Messrs. Watts and Scrafton to wait upon him; and he came to him the next morning accompanied by his son, made many apologies for the non-performance of his agreement to join him, and said his fate was in his hands. That he assured Meer Jaffier that the English would most religiously perform their treaty, and advised him to pursue Serajah Dowla without delay, and he would follow with the English army. That when Serajah Dowla arrived at the City his palace was full of treasure; but with all that treasure he could not purchase the confidence of his army. He was employed in lavishing considerable sums among his troops to engage them to another battle, but to no purpose. About twelve at night the fatal news was brought him of Meer Jaffier's arrival at the City, closely followed by the English army. He then in despair gave up all for lost, and made his escape out of one of the palace windows, with only two or three attendants, and took refuge in the *fackier's* house as mentioned in a former part of this evidence.

That the English army having encamped within about six miles of Muxadavad, his Lordship sent Messrs. Watts and Walsh to congratulate Meer Jaffier upon his success, and to know the time when he should enter the City; in consequence of which, the day was fixed upon, and he entered the City at the head of 200 Europeans and 500 *sepoys*. That the inhabitants, who were spectators upon that

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occasion, must have amounted to some hundred thousands; and if they had had an inclination to have destroyed the Europeans, they might have done it with sticks and stones. On that day, continued his Lordship, being under no kind of restraint but that of my own conscience, I might have become too rich for a subject; but I had fixed upon that period to accomplish all my views whatever, and from that period to this hour, which is a space of fifteen years, I have not benefited myself directly or indirectly the value of one shilling, the *jagire* excepted. I have been placed in great and eminent station surrounded with temptations; the civil and military power were united in me, a circumstance which has never happened to any other man before that time or since. The Committee will therefore judge whether I have been moderate or immoderate in the pursuit of riches.

Lord Clive went on to relate that a few days after his arrival at the City Meer, Jaffier was placed on the *musnet* and proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, and a day was then fixed upon to consider the state of the Nabob's treasures, and to see how far he would comply with the treaty immediately; and that after that state was known, this matter was left to be decided by the Seats, two men of immense wealth and great influence, and it was agreed that half should be paid down and the other half in three years. That at this meeting was Omichund, and when the real treaty came to be read the indignation and resentment expressed in that man's countenance bars all description. He said, 'This cannot be the treaty; it was a red treaty that I saw.' That his Lordship replied, 'Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty.'[1]

* * * * *

[1] 'The conference being ended, Clive and Scrafton went towards Omichund, who was awaiting in full assurance of hearing the glad tidings of his good fortune, when Clive said, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund," on which Scrafton said to him in the Indostan language, "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing." These words overpowered him like a blast of sulphur; he sank back fainting, and would have fallen to the ground had not one of his attendants caught him in his arms; they carried him to his *palankin*, in which they conveyed him to his house, where he remained many hours in stupid melancholy and began to show some signs of insanity. Some days after he visited Colonel Clive, who advised him to make a pilgrimage to some *Pagoda*, which he accordingly did soon after to a famous one near Maulda; he went and returned insane, his mind every day approaching more and more to idiotism, and contrary to the usual manners of old age in Indostan, still more to the former excellence of his understanding, he delighted in being continually dressed in the richest garments and ornamented with the most costly jewels. In this state of imbecility he died about a year and a half after the shock of his disappointment.'—Orme, 'History,' vol. ii., p. 182.

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APPENDIX IV.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

86. *Extracts from a letter from Charles F. Noble to the Select Committee, Fort Saint George, dated 22 September,* 1756.

4. The Colonel[1] was at great pains to procure a perfect knowledge of that Court,[2] government, country and people, and I believe few men knew it better than he did at his death.

5. As the Colonel was soon known to several of the greatest men of that country by means of Omy Chund (an eminent merchant at Calcutta, and the best acquainted with the Company's affairs and interest of any one in that country), he had several conferences with them, particularly with Rajah Tilluchund of the Burduwan Country and Cozee Waszitt of Hugelie, who had mentioned his arrival to the Nabob.

6. The old Nabob Alliverde Cawn then greatly advanced in years (between 70 and 80) signified a great desire to see and confer with him, as he understood him to be one of the King's officers and an experienced soldier, a character he always respected, as being one of the greatest of his time in that country himself, and accordingly invited the Colonel to his Court; and Cozee Salli the Nabob's ambassador at the Sowah Rajah's Court at Sittarah, after having concluded a Peace between the Nabob and Morattas being then at Calcutta on his return to Moxudavad, the Nabob ordered him to see the Colonel and repeat his desire of seeing him, which he did in a meeting and conference in February 1754 at Omy Chund's country garden there.

7. This gentleman Cozee Salli was (on his arrival at Moxudavad for his service) appointed Nabob or Governor of the Cuttack Province.

8. Colonel Scott was prepared and ready to go to Moxudavad (where the Nabob expected him) when he received the then Governor and Council's letter of Madrass intreating him to come with all speed to their assistance upon the Choromandel Coast. On this he excused himself to the Nabob, in the politest manner, in a letter he wrote to

[1] Colonel Scot. [2] Court at Murshidabad.

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Cozee Waszit and Cozee Salli and came to this place where he afterwards died. The loss the Company have sustained thereby is but too evident.

9. It was thought that the Nabob had some affairs of consequence to communicate to the Colonel with regard to the succession of Nabobship after his death and to the Company's affairs; and it was also hinted to the Colonel that the Nabob wanted his advice about fortifying Moxudavad, and the Passes at Sicully Gully, which you will find often mentioned in the projects that I now have the honor of presenting you with.

10. Colonel Scott understood that on the death of the old Nabob there would be a dispute for the Crown between the gentlemen, his nephews and his grandsons, who had already discovered ambitious views;

11. He acquainted the Company therewith in one of his letters, and of his apprehensions of the danger all their Settlements would be in of being pillaged by one or other of the competitors, and of the weak and defenceless condition in which he found all their forts and garrisons.

12. He endeavoured to introduce regular order and discipline among the troops that had been before much neglected, and to rectify many abuses and irregularities that were daily committed to the prejudice of the Company's interest and of the nation's honor. Some things he effected, but he had too much power and self interest to contend with to be able to make any material alterations in the government of these Settlements.

13. The military works and fortifications he intended, and was empowered to erect in Calcutta, could not be compleated in many years, therefore he thought of making some slighter works for the more immediate defence of the place, (against the blow he saw impending, and which we have now unfortunately received) a plan of which he presented to the Governor and Council, and which was approved and set about directly. He ordered the ditch that he found had already been carried on half round the town, to be widened and deepened, and to be carried on quite round, draw-bridges and redoubts, to defend them, to be erected at three or four places, and two larger redoubts to be erected, one at each extremity of the town by the river side, not only to command the river but to defend the draw-bridges there, and the sluices for filling and emptying the ditch, with many other works for the preservation of the town in case of a sudden attack, before the more regular works could be accomplished. But his departure from Bengal a little thereafter hindered their progress, though he left Mr. Wells,

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engineer, to carry them on in his absence according to particular directions left with him for that purpose, and his death put a stop to them.

17. By what Colonel Scott observed in Bengal the *Jentue rajahs* and inhabitants were very much disaffected to the Moor Government, and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their tyrannical yoke. And was of opinion that if an European force began successfully, that they would be inclined to join them if properly applied to and encouraged, but might be cautious how they acted at first until they had a probability of success in bringing about a Revolution to their advantage.

18. I look on old Omy Chund as the man in Bengal the most capable of serving us if he has a mind to it, though considering the ill usage he has often received from the gentlemen of our nation there (who have generally sacrificed the Company's welfare and nation's honor and glory to their private piques and interest) we can scarce hope for his favor, without the hopes of retrieving what he may have lost by this unhappy event and being better used in future may prevail with him. Whether he had any hand in the present affair or not I cannot say; he was intimate with the late Nabob and all the Court.

19. There is a man named Nimo Gosseyng the High Priest of the *Gentues*, who has a great influence among the *Jentue rajahs* and with a particular caste of people who go up and down the kingdom well armed in great bodies, of the *facquier* or religious beggar cast, who might possibly be of service to us if they could be engaged to our interest, which by Nimo Gooseyng's means I have particular reasons to believe might be done.

20. This priest gave Colonel Scott very good information and advice relating to the affairs of that country, and told him he could bring 1,000 of these men to assist the English in four days warning when needful. The Colonel did him some service while he lived and I dare say he has a respect for his memory to this day.

21. As I think we cannot have too much good information and advice relating to the affairs of Bengal, and the means of repairing the great loss the Company and private gentlemen have sustained, so I shall take the liberty of mentioning old Mr. Cooke (formerly in the Company's service in Bengal, father to the Company's Secretary there, now residing near this place, I am told) as a man of great experience and judgment in what relates to Bengal, for whom the Colonel in his life time had a great respect on that account, and who might be able to give some lights to things that may not be so well known here,

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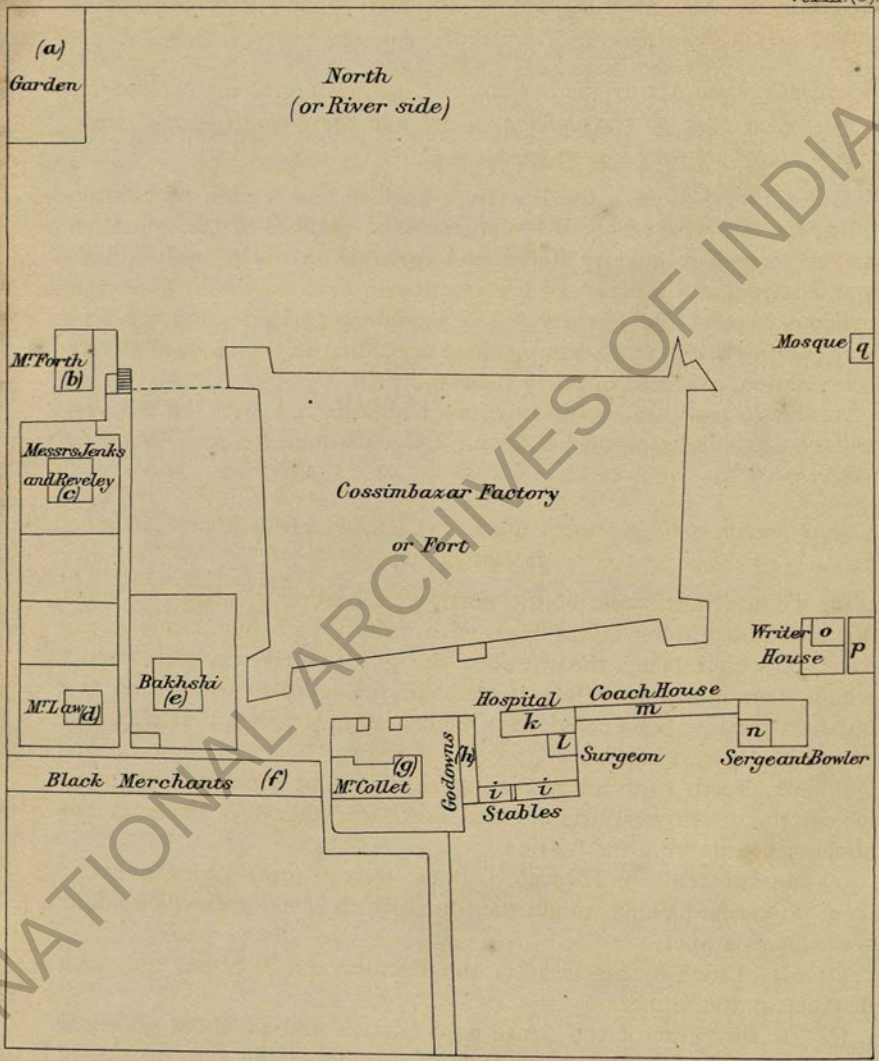

Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t London

PLAN OF THE FACTORY OF COSSIMBAZAR IN JUNE, 1756.

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especially as Mr. Manningham is not arrived and may perhaps be longer detained.[1]

87. *Letter from Mr. Watts to Colonel Clive, etc., with an explanation of a plan of Cossimbazar Fort and the Colonel, &c.'s, reply, dated 28 January,* 1757.

GENTLEMEN,—I take the liberty to enclose you a plan of Cossimbuzar Factory with a paper of references, the number of our garrison, and an account of military stores, and agreable to the request I made you, beg you, and the rest of the gentlemen officers, would give your opinions whether the Factory was defensible, or tenable, and for how long, against the Nabob's army, which according to the most moderate computation, consisted of thirty thousand men.

As the sloop will sail to-morrow, your obliging me with an answer, will be esteemed a particular favour by gentlemen, &c. &c., WILLIAM WATTS.

Explanation of the plan of the Factory of Cossimbuzar by Mr. Watts as in June, 1756.

(*a*) To the north-west of the north-west bastion at about 70 yards distance is a garden full of trees with a deep ditch dug round it, the earth of which being thrown into the garden makes a wall behind which men might be safely lodged; in this garden was placed five hundred gunmen who could have picked off any person that appeared on the north-west bastion.

(*b*) Mr. Forth's the Surgeon's house, the top of which entirely overlooked the north-west bastion and north curtain; this house is not above 30 yards from the bastion.

(*c*) Messrs. Jenks and Reveley's house west of the Factory, at about 60 or 70 yards distance, round the top of which was a wall which might serve as a parapet.

(*d*) Mr. Law's house west of the Factory and at about the same distance as the former.

(*e*) To the west of the south-west bastion and at about 30 yards distance stands Mr. Jenks's or the *Buxy's* house; the eastern wall of

[1] 'Ordered . . . that the Secretary thank Mr. Noble for his information, taking notice at the same time that they would have been equally useful and much more agreeable had he spared the unbecoming reflections on the characters of the Bengal Gentlemen too frequently to be remarked in his foregoing letter.'—Fort Saint George Select Committee Proceedings, 24 September, 1756.

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the upper room had no windows but loop holes would have been easily made and then it commanded the bastion.

(*f*) To the south-west of the south-west bastion runs a row of upper-roomed houses belonging to black merchants, the nearest house being about 40 yards from the bastion.

(*g*) To the south of the south-west bastion stands the Second's, an upper-roomed house, the windows of the upper story and the top of which entirely commands both the south-west and south-east bastions and the curtain between them, the distance of the house is about 40 yards from the Factory.

(*h*) *Godowns.*

(*i*) Stables.

(*k*) Hospital.

(*l*) Surgeon's house adjoining to the Hospital.

(*m*) A range of Coach House.

The above five Articles are from 30 to 50 yards distance from the Factory.

(*n*) Serjeant Bowler's house at about 60 yards distance.

(*o*) Mr. Watts' writer's house, on the top of which there is a parapet wall; this house entirely overlooks and commands the south-east bastion.

(*p*) A house joining to the former. These houses are about 50 yards distance from the south-east bastion.

(*q*) A Mosque upon a level with the parapet of the north-east bastion at about 60 yards distance. Besides the above brick house there were numbers of mud and thatcht houses.

The curtain from the north-east to the south-east bastion was only brick and mud and was about three months before the troubles in so ruinous a condition, being undermined by the rats, that Mr. Perks, our *Buxy*, was obliged to stop up the several underminings with brick and mortar to preserve it for that time from falling.

The south curtain was full of windows.

The west curtain had eight or ten windows in it.

Our garrison consisted of only 51 or 52 men, six of which were sick, and of the remainder there were not above 21 or 22 Europeans and those mostly undisciplined Dutchmen, the rest being *topasses.*

There were ten guns on each bastion and a line of guns on the curtain to the waterside.

The houses above mentioned were all filled with musketts belonging to the Nabob.

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88. *Letter from Colonel Clive and Officers to Mr. Watts.*

We the under subscribers having considered the plan of Cossimbuzar laid before us by Mr. Watts, and taken a survey of the list of stores, ammunition and number of forces in it the time it was surrounded by the Nabob's troops, give it our opinion, as far as we can judge from circumstances, that the place would have held out but a very short siege.

ROBERT CLIVE, JAMES KILLPATRICK, EYRE COOTE (Captain in His Majesty's 39 Regiment), GEORGE FRIDRICK GAUPP, WILLIAM LIN, W. PYE, G. MUIR, JOHN FRASER, TIMOTHY BRIDGE.

89. *Letter from Mr. Watts to the Court of Directors, dated Calcutta, 30 January, 1757.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,—1. Mr. Holwell in his address to Your Honours having in many parts of his letter arraigned my conduct, self defence obliges me to reply to the several particulars, and to point out where he has been mistaken.

2. In the 4th paragraph of his letter he relates a very plausible story of Rajabullub's being seized on his master, Newangees Mahmud Cawn's death and during the life of Allverdi Cawn and was by Siraujud Doulet imprisoned, who by severe methods endeavoured to force a confession and discovery of Newangees Mahmud Cawn's riches, and then launches out into a panegyrick on the faithfullness of Rajabullub to his deceased Master; where Mr. Holwell picked up this piece of intelligence I am at a loss to know, for neither I, or I believe any of the Gentlemen of Cossimbuzar, ever heard of his being imprisoned till after the old Nabob's death; on the contrary Rajabullub was daily employed in giving an account of Newangees Mahmud Cawn's riches to the old Nabob, and never received any check till about a few days before he died, when on the information of Siraujud Doulet of Newangees Mahmud Cawn's *Begum* or wife's raising forces for us, he was sent for and spoke to severely; on which he retired to his mistress at Mootee Jheel, where she was raising forces as much to preserve the life of her gallant, Meir Nusserally, as her riches which she expected will be seized on her father's death. Mr. Holwell then proceeds and argues extremely well for Rajabullub, after which he ventures to assert upon memory alone what I can with the same or more certainty affirm I never wrote; what I wrote I can venture to say was only to the following purport, *viz.*, to Mr. Manningham:—

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'That Rajabullub's son's wife was taken ill on her way to Jaggernaut, therefore Rajabullub desired she might be admitted into Calcutta for a month till she was brought to bed as she was ready to lie in. I had complied with his intercession to write to the Governour as Rajabullub had been usefull to us and might be more so.'

What I wrote to the Governour was enclosed under a flying seal to Mr. Manningham, and was to the same purport, only the article of her being ready to lie in was omitted; but I in the most solemn manner declare that I never wrote to supply her with boats, neither did I know till about the time of the old *Suba's* death that ever Rajabullub's son or wealth were admitted into Calcutta. If I had been acquainted with that I should have been immediately alarmed, and, the moment I suspected any ill consequences might attend the Governour's keeping Rajabullub's son or wealth in Calcutta, I did, as Mr. Holwell mentions, desire the Governour to turn them out of the place. I never heard from the more understanding people about the *Durbar* that Newangees Mahmud Cawn's *Begum* would ever get the better, and the Gentlemen of Cossimbuzar were under so little apprehensions of any alteration in the Government by her means that I do not remember we ever mentioned the affair to Calcutta; therefore I cannot conceive from what quarter Mr. Holwell could get this intelligence.

3. With regard to Mr. Holwell's 5th paragraph of his letter I acknowledge to have wrote to the purport he mentions, but what salutary end it could answer affronting so considerable a person as Narain Sing after knowing and receiving him with respect, and refusing the Nabob's letter which demanded Kissendass and his wealth, I cannot conceive without there were some hidden causes and motives which do not appear at present. The moment I was acquainted with the affair I dreaded the consequences of affronting so considerable a servant of a young man intoxicated with power and wealth, and who expected an implicit obedience to his will. I therefore immediately applied to all the great men about the Nabob to prevent Narain Sing's complaining, and the affair was seemingly hushed up; but possibly when the Nabob marched to Rajamaul where he received the Governour's letter which so much incensed him, Narain Sing who was then with him might take the opportunity to represent his own ill treatment. I must here remark that when Mr. Holwell found himself embarassed how to act I am surprised he should not propose to the Governor the asking the advice and assistance of the rest of the Council; why they did not or why they assumed a power of acting by themselves, a power

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no ways delegated to them, must appear extraordinary to every impartial judge. I must here again observe that the utmost efforts of Newangees Mahmud Cawn's *Begum* was to preserve her gallant and wealth, neither was it ever imagined that a loose abandoned old woman would be able to stand in competition for the government with Siraujud Doulet.

4. The 7th paragraph of Mr. Holwell's letter requires an answer. In the 8th he mentions that the taking of Gayree by his Majesty's squadron and the naval strength of the English in India was the occasion of much speculation at the *Durbar;* this though I resided at Cossimbuzar and had constant intercourse with the most considerable *Durbar* officers I never heard of, and I am confident, from the many conversations I have had with them, that scarce any but a few merchants knew who Angria was; even those who had heard of his name mentioned him with the utmost contempt as a needy robber. I likewise never heard that our having sixteen ships of war and a strong land force coming to Bengal ever gained belief at the *Durbar*, and any person who knows the nature of these eastern people, how incurious and indolent they are, must be sensible how little they trouble themselves with occurrences and affairs that happen beyound their own Province.

5. In answer to the 9th, 10th and 11th paragraphs I must say it might have been possibly better if we had answered the Nabob's *perwannah* as politickly as the French did.

6. With regard to the letters mentioned in the 12th paragraph few reached us; that in relation to enquiring of the Nabob's ministers whether his intentions were to extort a sum of money from us never did.

7. The letter of the 1st of June mentions not Roydullub one of the Nabob's Ministers but only a *jemmadar* of his, who might very probably be mistaken in his intelligence; however, in the circumstances we were in, we thought it incumbent on us to transmit every particular we heard.

8. The small resistance they were able to make in Calcutta where their numbers and all kinds of military stores were above ten times more than what we had, besides the advantage of shipping to retire to, proves I think evidently how greatly the five captains were mistaken in their opinion of the defencibleness of Cossimbuzar. Our whole garrison according to our muster rolls consisted of only 51 or 52 men, six of which were sick, and of the remainder there were not above twenty Europeans, and those most undisciplined Dutchmen, the rest being *topasses* on whom little or no dependence could be put; with this

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force we had orders to resist an army of thirty thousand men who had possession of all the houses round us which commanded the bastions; and after we could defend the place no longer we were to make the best retreat in our power, a retreat of above a hundred miles overland through an enemy's country, and in the face of so large an army, for neither boats or *dandys* could we expect to procure in those circumstances, or if we could, the river was too shallow to proceed down against so large a force, it being in many places not above two feet deep. This letter we never received; if we had, we should have submitted to the directions there given notwithstanding the apparent preposterousness of them.

9. In Mr. Collet's and my letter to your Honours I have given my reasons for going out of the Factory, which was by the advice and consent of all the gentlemen of the Factory and officer of the garrison, and when I found myself detained in camp and the surgeon returned to the Factory, I told him that, though I did not know what might be the consequence, yet I did not think it advisable for Messrs. Collet and Batson to quit the Factory; but the message not being delivered they came to camp, when I told them the message I had sent, and that I was sorry to see them there. Mr. Holwell then proceeds and wishes for our sakes and the honour of our country that we may be able to justify our conduct in not fighting; in answer to which I must ask Mr. Holwell why he did not continue to defend the Factory, when at the time of the delivering of it up he had five times the number of men we had at Cossimbuzar. I term it delivering of it up, from the account I received from Mr. George Gray, junior, a young gentleman of sense and spirit, who showed his account to many of his fellow sufferers who were then in the French hospital at Chandernagore, and who allowed the account to be just, and I declare solemnly I never once heard of the betraying of the back gate to the enemy though there were above eighty men of different degrees in the French hospital (till Mr. Holwell returned from Muxadavad who then told that story). Mr. Gray's &c, account of the affair is as follows:—

'Soon about noon the Governour and Council thought proper to write to the Nabob and *duan* demanding a truce and an accommodation, but had no answer returned. About 4 o'clock the enemy called out to us not to fire, upon which the Governour showed a flag of truce, and gave orders for us not to fire; upon which the enemy in vast numbers came under the walls and at once set fire to the windows which were stopt up with cotton bales, began to break open the Fort

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gate, and scaled our walls on all sides; this put us into the utmost confusion, some rushed out at the gate towards the river and others were surrounded by the Moors who showed them signs of quarter, upon which they delivered themselves up.'

To this I must here add that one corporal assured me that when the Moors in numbers came under the walls he had his match ready to fire a flanck gun on them, by which he must have destroyed many, but Mr. Holwell took the match out of his hand and extinguished it in a tub of water. This is a circumstance I should never have thought of mentioning had not Mr. Holwell laboured so much to arraign my conduct by artfully endeavouring to prove that one day's defence of Cossimbuzar might have saved Calcutta, and in order to do this he calls the Heavens to his assistance and makes it rainy, dirty weather for several days after the taking of the place; to this I answer and appeal to every inhabitant of Calcutta for the truth of what I assert that except one shower on the second night after the place was taken, it was in general clear and dry weather for many days, I think to the beginning of July.

10. In answer to the last part of the 16th paragraph I am informed from some of the gentlemen that suffered at Cossimbuzar, that their ill treatment was owing entirely to the officer shooting himself, which made the Moors apprehend if they were left free they might make some desperate attempt. Mr. Holwell's laboured endeavours through five sheets of paper to set my conduct in the worst point of light might induce me to retaliate on him the same method of reasoning by saying if he had defended Fort William to the last extremity, not hoisted the flag of truce which the Moors might take for a flag of surrender or one of their own, and not suffered numbers to come under the walls, which gave them an opportunity to scale and take the place, or if when the Moors entered the place every one had used his endeavours to escape and had not been collected together, many might have escaped that suffered, or if you had defended the Fort till night you had a much better prospect of making a retreat with your numbers to Jungaraul where the ships lay then we had from Cossimbuzar where the distance was five times more, and our numbers five times less.

11. Mr. Holwell in the translation he gives of the *machulka* I was obliged to sign has not only, as he terms it, varied the words but likewise the sense of it; what I signed to was, that in fifteen days' time the Gentlemen of Calcutta should level what new works they had begun, deliver up the Nabob's subjects who had fled for protection there, and

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that if it could be proved that we had falsified the Company's *dusticks* by giving them to those who had no right to them we should pay back what the Government had suffered by loss of dutys: this *machulka* or obligation I alone signed to and not the Council.

12. What *arrassdasses* were wrote from Calcutta to the Nabob the Gentlemen best know, but by what Roydullub the Nabob's Prime Minister answered, when I desired leave to write to Calcutta, it appears they never reached him, for Roydullub told me if any proposals of accommodation were made first from Calcutta I might write as often as I pleased, but till then positively refused me, and there is great reason to believe that they had no thoughts of an accommodation when they paid no attention to our letter from Hughley, wherein Mr. Collet and I wrote that if the Governour and Council would send a proper person to the camp or empower us to act, we flattered ourselves that even then the dispute with the Nabob might be finished for a sum of money; to this though we never read it we were informed an answer was wrote, importing that after the disgrace the Company had suffered by the taking of their Factory at Cossimbuzar and imprisoning their servants they were resolved not to come to any agreement.

13. The last dying speech of Mahubut Jung or Alliverdi Cawn to his grandson neither he, or I believe any of the Gentlemen of the Factory, ever heard of; neither have I since from any of the country people; it seems an imitation of the speech of Lewis XIV. to his grandson, and appears as Mr. Collet aptly terms it only a specious fable. That the Nabob never intended to drive the English out of his dominions, or proposed demolishing the European fortifications, and that his whole end and aim was money alone is I think sufficiently demonstrated by his behaviour to the French and Dutch on his return to Hughly with his victorious army, who were in a most defenceless state, and from whom he demanded twenty *lacks* or two millions of rupees, their guns, ammunition, and the demolishing of their fortifications, but was at last pacified with four hundred and fifty thousand rupees from the latter, and three hundred and fifty thousand from the former, which is agreeable to the proportions and payment of the two nations, the French ever paying less then either the Dutch or us: that during his stay at Hughly which was seven or eight days, he might have taken both places is certain, and that he had no enemy immediately to proceed against is as undoubted, for he did not, nor could not, pass his forces over the great river Ganges into the Purnea country till the Rains were over, and the waters fallen. Some of the most sensible among the French have told

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me that they represented to the Nabob that they could not think of staying in the country or carrying on any business with security without fortifications, and that, if the Nabob had persisted in his demand, the remedy they then would have had was to have thrown their gates open to him and desired leave to retire with their effects. From the natural pacifick disposition of the Dutch there is reason to believe they would have acted with equal prudence.

14. Mr. Holwell having delivered in his letter but a two days before we left Fulta, and our attention having been since taken up in the several measures necessary to be pursued for the future safety of Your Honours' Settlement, possibly I may have omitted many particulars which may in future occur and oblige me to trouble you with another address.

15. I am sensible of the great advantage Mr. Holwell must gain, in quitting India at this critical juncture and returning to Europe, by the opportunity he will have of pleading his cause personally before you, but I flatter myself no determination will be made to my prejudice from any allegations of his, without hearing my defence, when I hope I shall be able to obviate any objections made to my conduct.

I am, &c. &c., WILLIAM WATTS.

90. *Letter from Mr. Becher to the Council, Fort William, dated 22.March, 1757.*

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,—Could I have obtained a perusall of Mr. Drake's letter of the 24th January before the dispatch of the Europe ships for the season, it should not have gone home without an answer. I often applied for it but never could get it till the 17th instant, though it has been minuted on our Consultations as delivered in the 31st January. I think Mr. Drake should not be so severe in censuring people for blaming their fellow servants and not giving them an opportunity to answer, as that is the method he has himself followed on the present occasion.

I have explained my sentiments so fully on the subject of Kissendass and Rojeram's brother in my answer to part of Mr. Holwell's letter that I see no reason to enlarge, but to observe that Mr. Drake's being absent when Kissendass was admitted no way exculpates him, as on his return to Calcutta (by his own account three days after his admission) he might have ordered him to retire. As to his assertion that it was as much the duty of the Gentlemen in Councill as his to point out any

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thing that occurred to them for the benefit of the Company, he is certainly right; but Gentlemen must be acquainted with the motives for actions before they can judge whether they will prove beneficiall or otherwise. Others may answer for themselves how far they were acquainted with the reasons for admitting Kissendass and insulting the messenger. I declare that though I was, as Mr. Drake says, in Calcutta when Kissendass arrived and some days after, I was a perfect stranger to every transaction in Councill, and indeed the gentlemen concerned in those actions took care to keep the rest of the Councill in the dark about them, for what reason they themselves can best tell. I left Calcutta the 6th of Aprill and arrived at Dacca the 1st May, there I first heard of the refusall to receive the *purwannah* demanding Kissendass and his wealth and turning the messenger out of the Bounds; every gentleman then at Dacca can vouch for my expressing my disapprobation of those actions as unwarrantable and likely to involve the Company's affairs; but as I then looked on them as acts of the whole Councill and being unacquainted with the motives, I can't see I could with any propriety have intermeddled, so that Mr. Drake will excuse me if I do not account myself one of his after-thinkers; indeed it appears to me little thought was requisite. Could it ever be imagined any Prince would suffer a sett of merchants to protect from him any of his subjects, much less a man who had enjoyed a considerable post under the Government, or would tamely put up with the insult to his messenger. Surely notwithstanding Mr. Drake's representation, the refusing to receive a letter from the *Suba* of the province, and turning the messenger away will be construed an insult by the whole world. Mr. Drake says I accuse him solely of assuming an arbitrary authority in the above actions; if my words convey that meaning I beg his pardon as it was not any design but to accuse him, Messrs. Manningham and Holwell, of assuming such an authority. Mr. Drake asks me whether I have hitherto made an enquiry or from any certain knowledge can give the Board intelligence what methods were pursued to hinder the Nabob's approach and to pacify his ungovernable passion; in answer to which I am to acquaint Mr. Drake that I have made the best enquiry I possibly could, and do think if such measures had been pursued as pointed out in my letter of the 24th [? 25th] January, it would have prevented the destruction of the place and saved the lives of those many brave gentlemen who suffered in it. Mr. Drake must excuse me, but I think him, Messrs. Manningham and Holwell, much more to blame in not using proper means to accommodate matters than

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the other members of the Board, as they very well knew they had given the Nabob sufficient cause to be angry with the English. Had the affair of Kissendass and the messenger been laid before the Board, the gentlemen would have been much better enabled to have formed a judgment what steps would have been most probable [proper] to have pacified the Nabob; the first certainly ought to have been to have acquainted him Kissendass and his wealth should be immediately delivered. Whether any body ever hinted to those gentlemen that Kissendass' affair was the first cause of our troubles I can't say, but this I can venture to affirm that, even as far as Dacca, every inhabitant of the country I conversed with assured me that was the originall cause, and I own I was greatly surprized not to find the least mention of that affair in our Generall Letters, but the fortifications and the capriciousness of the Nabob given as the sole causes of his march against Calcutta, for till my arrivall at Fulta in August I never knew but that Kissendass' admission and the dismission of the messenger were acts of the Councill. I can't admit that there is any contradiction in our General Letter to the Company from Dacca of the 12th July and my arraignment of Mr. Drake's conduct under date the 26th November. Surely there is a great difference between refusing to listen to any terms of accommodation and not using proper means to bring it about, but the meaning of our letter was that we could not credit the report that Mr. Drake would not listen to any terms of accommodation; it appeared inconceivable to us though it was confidently reported by the country people. I must now beg leave to annotate on Mr. Drake's remarks on mine &c. Councill's letter from Dacca to the Presidency of Fort Saint George dated the 13th July last, and am sorry to see Mr. Drake lets passion get so much the better of him as to accuse us of a design to prejudice our fellow servants by accusing them without giving them an opportunity of answering and now screening the French account as not thinking it fitt to appear before the Board. I assured Mr. Drake some time ago that I never kept a copy of that French account, which is the real truth and the only reason it has not been delivered in, but as the Gentlemen from the Coast have promised to send us copies of all letters they received from hence relating to the loss of the place, I hope Mr. Drake will soon get a sight of it; but if his impatience is very great, I believe he has in his own possession a paper sent him by Mr. Young, expressing pretty fully the sentiments of foreigners on the loss of Calcutta. The account we sent to the Coast corresponds in most parts with that; only, to the best of my remem-

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brance, that scandalous affair of the Bank of Genoa and Venice was not in it. I will allow that I am concerned I ever sent that account to the Coast as there are some materiall errors in it, and even what is true is ill naturedly expressed, but I positively deny any intention to prejudice my fellow servants in hopes of reaping any advantage from it. I should scorn so base an action, and hope my generall character in the world will gain me belief when I declare my sole motive for arraigning the conduct of my superiours has proceeded from my really thinking them highly culpable, and I firmly believe the gentlemen that signed the letters with me acted from the same principle. I hope it will be considered that at the time we wrote that letter to the Coast we were prisoners in the French Factory at Dacca, and had no opportunity of getting a better account. We thought it absolutely necessary speedy advice of the loss of the place should be sent. Things were represented to us in so bad a light by the French and all the country people that we with concern gave credit to what we heard and accordingly sent that account to the Coast; possibly we had better have waited till we could have got a more perfect one, but if we were wrong it proceeded from an error in judgment and not from such a base motive as Mr. Drake was pleased to attribute it to. The mistakes in the Articles of the *purwannah* and the riches said to be carried off are acknowledged by me on the face of your Consultations and so shall any others Mr. Drake will point out. I think that gentleman might be convinced I had no design by any underhand doings to hurt his or any man's character by the Minute I made the first day I took my seat at the Board at Fulta, in which I publickly arraigned his and some of the Councill's conduct, and had he thought proper to have called on me for an explanation I should then have laid before the Board the letters we had wrote and corrected the errors he could have showed me in them. Why Mr. Drake let such a Minute stand without notice for three or four months I know not, but believe most people would have expected any gentleman accused would have immediately called for reason to prove the assertion. As that was not the case I did not think myself obliged to enter my reasons at that time, but this I can assure Mr. Drake, and every other gentleman that as circumstances have come to my knowledge I have in all my private letters justified his and their characters as far as in my opinion they are justifiable. I beg pardon for the trouble I have given the Board.

I am, &c. &c., RICHARD BECHER.

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91. *Letter from Mr. Pearkes to the Court of Directors, dated Camp, near Chinsurah, 28 March, 1757.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,

The reason of my troubling Your Honours with this address is that there being no General Letter sent from the Governour and Council through whose channell I might regularly apply for redress from the misrepresentations of John Zephaniah Holwell Esq. of my giving up the Government of Fort William to him after Mr. Drake &c., had left the place as mentioned in Mr. Tooke's narrative, which I had not an opportunity, on account of my absence from Calcutta till lately, of seeing, for my own vindication herein I have enclosed an attested copy given in at my request of this transaction by Mr. John Cooke, the Secretary Messrs. Court and Knox, all members of the Council of War then held, by which your Honours will see in how wrong a light this has been represented to Mr. Tooke and through his channell to your Honours. I am with the greatest respect.

May it &c. &c.—PAUL RICHARD PEARKES.

Enclosure to above.

TO PAUL RICHARD PEARKES ESQ.

SIR,—Agreeable to your request I send you the particulars of what passed at the Council held the 19th June 1756 collected from the best of my remembrance.

After the Governour went off the garrison one and all called upon Mr. Holwell to take the command of the Fort upon him, esteeming him I suppose the most capable to govern them at such a juncture. A Council being summoned Messrs. Drake, Manningham, Frankland and Macket were suspended and, as well as I can remember, you were told the garrison had elected Mr. Holwell their Governor and were desired to subscribe to that election. You hesitating at appointing him Governor, but acquiesced he should be Commander-in-Chief of the troops and garrison under you. This being absolutely declined by Mr. Holwell you were given to understand that, if you did not consent to Mr. Holwell's taking the charge of the Government, the Council would appoint him without your consent and give their reasons for so doing. After some debate, you agreed that Mr. Holwell should have charge of the Company's affairs as President and Governour during the Troubles and entered a Minute to that purpose with your reasons for waving your

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seniority. These are all the circumstances as nearly as I can remember, and I believe pretty near the whole of what passed upon that occasion.

I am &c. &c.—JOHN COOKE (Secretary).

CALCUTTA,
The 31st March, 1757.

I attest the whole of this letter to be true excepting the whole garrison electing Mr. Holwell Governour before any Council was held; at least it never came to my knowledge.

RICHARD COURT.

I attest without any exception.

JOHN KNOX.

92. *Extracts from a letter from Mr. Scrafton to Mr. Walsh, dated Cossimbazar, 9 April, 1757.*

Our gentlemen here don't like the neighbourhood of the French Factory as they have a pretty numerous garrison, being European soldiers 120, gentlemen and officers about 30, and 60 *tellinghees*, and our Factory here is at present a tempting bait, there being near four *laack* cash besides goods and few soldiers with very little ammunition.

* * * * *

I passed the day with Watts yesterday. The character he gives of the Nabob and his Court is this:—that the Nabob himself has but an indifferent understanding, timorous as a hare yet loves to boast and consequently relishes flattery: that the Camp affair of the 5th February urges him to resentment, his dread of our force on the other hand makes an eternal contrast in his mind with regard to us; that by dint of threatening letters from the Admiral and Colonel it is possible he may be brought to a full compliance with the treaty, but if ever a French force should arrive he would not fail to seek his revenge; these are the principles he acts on when left to himself, but that his mind is a slave to a set of low rascally fellows who never look further in the advice they give him than for their immediate pecuniary advantage; these the French have bribed with large sums and they have been consequently our enemies, but as the French present poverty rendered them of no longer use to them they are now by the help of a little money coming over to us. I think on the whole his Court may be compared to that of Ptolemy's that reigned in Egypt when Pompey fled there after the battle of Pharsalia, that is that the head and members are all as corrupt and treacherous as possible, and the Colonel should be the

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Cæsar to act as Cæsar then did, take the Kingdom under his protection, depose the old and give them a new King to make his subjects happy. As in a building unless the plan whereon to build be first formed in the builder's mind, it can have neither elegance or strength, so in politicks unless we proceed on some fixed principle, some well planned system, affairs can never be brought to a happy conclusion. Here, to day we ask for the Cossimbuzar cannon. He hesitates, delays, possibly at last complies. That done, then we shall recollect that we shall expect he will deliver all the Calcutta cannon. We are uncertain whether he will ever comply with that; if not there's the treaty infringed at once, and God knows whether we may then be in a condition to resent it. For God's sake let us proceed on some fixed plan. Let us make out what our demand is and limit a time for its performance. He says he will deliver up all that appears in the Government's Books. Suppose we find the Calcutta cannon, gold taken in the Factory or other valuables are not specified therein, shall we be content, because they are not in his *Sircarry* Books, to lose them? Say No, but we are not prepared for a rupture. We ought to be taking measures in case things should take that turn. Give Mr. Watts a *hint* of this, the least encouragement, and he will set about forming a party in case of the worst. How glorious it would be for the Company to have a Nabob devoted to them! There was only one circumstance could have made this man so. That was the Afghans entering the country; and, now the season is so far advanced he has no reason to apprehend it, we ought in apprehension of the worst to be making preparations and taking all proper measures to be securing the success of my old favourite scheme. If then he proves true to the treaty, we are happy if not, possibly happier. Monickchund is released from his confinement on paying ten *laack*. He is a deep designing fellow. Since his disgrace he appears devoted to us. He will be able to give us a clear insight into what English effects fall into the Nabob's hands. This he has promised Mr. Watts. There is a possibility this letter may miscarry or I would write plainer. It is with pleasure I assure you I have hopes of recovering great part of my Dacca effects. Watts is a little huffed he has never heard from you. I made an apology several minutes long.

* * * * *

I believe I shall wait on his Nabobship tomorrow. The French have forty *hakaries* all ready loaded, and it is imagined they will sally out in quest of adventures Monday next.

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93. *Letter from Captain Lebeaume to Council, Fort William, dated Calcutta, 18 April, 1757.*[1]

SIR AND SIRS,—I have the honour to present before you a copy of the General Court Martial held over me by order of Colonel Clive, before which I was obliged to appear although I had been already broke and the European soldiers and *topasses* of my company incorporated with those of Captains Muier and Frazier without any crime I had before committed, although I have found that the General Court Martial have thought proper to acquit me.

You see, Sir and Sirs, that though the said General Court Martial have acquitted me yet they have it not in their power to give me ample satisfaction upon Lieutenant-Colonel Clive who summoned them, and, as a stain has been thrown upon my character, I find myself under a necessity of going to Europe in order to obtain reparation, for which I request your Honours' permission, since without my going away it would be prejudicial to me. I am also to beg Your Honours will favour me with a certificate of my conduct from the time I have been honoured with a Captain's commission and command of a company, as well as a particular order for the continuation of the advantages I ought to have according to my commission.

I am &c. &c.—LEBEAUME.

94. *Extract from a letter from Mr. Scrafton to Colonel Clive, dated Cossimbazar, 28 April, 1757.*

I think the last time I had the honour to write you the Nabob was just repenting the affront he had put on the *vacqueel.* Since then he has broke out again on receiving letters from Mutramul and Nuncumar that you was sending up a body of men and ammunition. In this fit he grossly affronted old Omichund, ordered Meer Jaffier to march and even his own tent was carried out and staid out the whole day. Despatched orders to recal Laws and swore destruction to us. In the evening came a letter from you.[2] All was countermanded and a low rascal sent to bully Watts, which was while I was present. He said, if you marched a foot beyond your present camp, war was unavoidable;

[1] 'Captain Lebeaume sends in a letter to the Board with a copy of the Proceedings of a Court Martial held upon him, requesting our permission to proceed to Europe to obtain redress of the injury he conceives has been done him.

'Ordered his letter to be entered and lay for consideration' (Fort William Public Consultations, April 21, 1757).

[2] The above sentences will be found in the Extract given, Vol. ii., p. 365, No. 367.

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that if you will put your troops into quarters he would recall his army. This Watts has promised to write you. The Nabob and Watts are once more good friends, but I assure you the army is daily increasing.

All this is what they call a *dum cou*, in English a grave bully, for there is no consideration will induce him to venture his army, but we are not to be biassed by every start of passion, for the following is the real state of his affairs:—There is already paid near ten *lack* of goods and money, of which above six will come to the Company for their losses at Dacca &c. *aurungs*, the rest being either goods belonging to private people specified in the Nabob's Books for goods sold by him belonging to private people. Beyond he did agree to pay nine *lack*, of which five *lack* down and four *lack* on Monickchund and Moonloll at 30,000 the month. This is again reduced to six *lack*. Now you will observe that is for what appeared on his Books on the Calcutta account. These Books, when they come to be examined, will specify for what this sum was received, when it will probably appear that at least two thirds of it is private property, so that the Company will hardly reap the expence of the Expedition. Nothing is done about the thirty-eight villages, nor will he ever consent to drive the French out of his Country. I put this question to Watts:—Are we to abide by the express words of the treaty or by the intent and meaning of the Nabob's letters? Answered, by the words of the treaty. Thus we can make it evidently appear that there was in the Treasury deposited Company's treasure, coral and goods, to an immense amount; yet because the Nabob makes it appear by his Books that he only received six *lack* we are to be content. Now I will own that I believe a bribe well bestowed of forty thousand [rupees] would persuade him to pay us as far as nine *lack*, and, instead of thirty-eight villages to procure us a large extent of our Bounds, and you may live in peace with the Nabob 'till a French army enters the country, but that he will never give up the French. *Vice versâ*, whenever they enter the Country that he will join them I am as certain as one can be of anything that is in the womb of futurity. If you incline to such a negociation as this Watts is the fittest of men, but were you to win Omichund and let such a man as Watts be your representative all in vain. But if you don't like Peace on such terms, there are three ways of carrying on the war; first by a fair battle where our whole is at stake; secondly by the scheme in agitation by Juggutseat and Omichund; thirdly by taking the Dacca [district] and keeping it as security for new terms. I shewed Omichund your letter. He said it

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was by no means fit we should be seen together; he was much suspected, I more. I told him what I feared from Watts' timorous temper:—

'Fear nothing, in four days I will send Hazardemul and my family as hostages for my fidelity. I will establish a cypher with him, and he shall acquaint you with all the particulars.'

I begged of him to communicate the whole to me; he said No, he had given his oath, 'for which I am accountable to God, but Luttee is not the man, another firmly supported by Juggutseat.'

'Are you firm to this, if approved?'

'Yes.'

'Shall I go straight down?'

'No; it will alarm greatly. By no means go to Dacca. Stay a day and then overland.'

'Will Juggutseat persevere?'

'Yes; he is taking proper measures to send away his women, and you may be assured of a part of his army going over to you. You might communicate your terms to Hazardemul. The Nabob's army is at least half a *lack* strong.'

Now, Sir, had I twenty four hours conversation with you I could say no more. The 10th I am with you. It is high time for me to be gone. Watts is damned jealous of me, and I am watched as a cat does a mouse.

* * * * *

95. *Petition of Hubbo to the Honourable Roger Drake, Esq., President and Governour, &c., Council.*

The humble Petition of Hubbo of the Town of Calcutta, Inhabitant and *Syrang*, sheweth that your petitioner by the capture of this place was taken up and compelled to accept of the Nabob's service by the *duan* Monickchund, who was then chief of this place, and that your petitioner was also obliged to give security for not deserting or quitting them which bound your petitioner to remain with them; notwithstanding which your petitioner being desirous and willing to render the Honourable Company such service as laid in his power in the time of his serving the Moors dispatched his brother to Fulta to serve the English, and your petitioner further sheweth that when his brother was employ'd by the English at Fulta several messages were sent or communicated to your petitioner by his said brother by order of the Honourable Roger Drake Esq., Mr. Hollwell, and Captain Wedderburn, with a promise

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of a reward of six hundred (600) rupees and *syr syrang*[1] in the Honourable Company's service, on the retaking of this place from the Moors, if your petitioner would prevent the sinking any vessells in the channells about Tannah's Fort or any stoppages, so that there might be a free passage for his Majesty's ships to come up, which your petitioner had the good fortune to perform by, with about sixty rupees cost, agreable to the above gentlemen's request, having the chief command of all the vessells that were stationed at Tannah's Fort; therefore your petitioner humbly prays that his services may be taken into consideration and rewarded according to promise and your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c. &c.

96. *Letter from Mr. Holwell to the Court of Directors, dated London, 22 July, 1757.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,—I took the liberty of addressing you, as I thought my duty and your service required, in a letter bearing date the 15th[2] of November 1756, seting fourth at large the causes of your late misfortunes in Bengall. And having found myself under the disagreeable necessity of arraigning (through the course of my remarks on these causes) the conduct of some of my fellow servants in superiour trust there, and willing they should have every opportunity of vindicating themselves, I thought it but just submiting the said letter to their perusal, which I did in December following the date by a Minute entered on the Fulta Consultations, requesting my letter might be transmited to your Honourable Court by the first opportunity, and that they would please to apologise in their General Letter for the many errors and erasements in the transcribing, as it was impossible to have it transcribed afresh; and indeed I now find further cause for apologising, for on the recovery of my sight during the term of my voyage I found on the perusal of the rough draught, some essential matters was either neglected or very incorrectly transcribed in the copy before you. The same measure of equity I was doubtless entitled to from the gentlemen whose conduct I thought myself obliged to censure, but though they had my letter to animadvert on full six weeks, nothing appeared in answer or confutation of it untill the day before the *Syren's* packet was closed; when it was impossible for me even to give their addresses to your Honourable Court a perusal, and

[1] Head boatman.

[2] Probably refers to his letter of the 30th November, 1756, Vol. ii., p. 1, No. 113.

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much more so to forward any replication to them in that packet, but though I have been debarred by these gentlemen of an opportunity to vindicate myself, I will not doubt the having it from the hands of my Honourable Masters, of whom I humbly request a reading of the several letters addressed to your Honourable Court by your President and Messrs. Watts, Becher, Collet &c. that I may either candidly acknowledge my own errors in confirmation of their justification, or have just scope given me to support my own conduct and reasoning, against whatever these gentlemen may have alledged to both. I am &c. &c.
J. Z. HOLWELL.

97. *Letter from Mr. Holwell to the Court of Directors, dated London, 10 August, 1757.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,—Having perused the several addresses of Messrs. Watts, Becher, and Collet, in answer to different parts of my address to your Honourable Court, under date, Fulta, the 30th of November, 1756, I find myself under the necessity of making a short reply to each, and most humbly tender my thanks for the opportunity you have indulgently granted. Mr. Becher, by a penetration very commonly assumed (as Mr. Drake justly observes) subsequent to events, sets out with asserting,

'That the first admission of Kissendass and his wealth was wrong; that Raagbullob's family was out of the Government and of no consequence at the time Mr. Watts wrote the recommendatory letter concerning him, and that he had been no friend to the English, but on the contrary, had given much trouble to us; and that there was no probability of the success of the young *Begum*.'

To these I beg leave to reply, and say, that though the admission of that family no way touches me, (it being an act of Mr. Manningham's, the *pro tempore* Governor, even without my knowledge) yet I do not think it was wrong, as things were then circumstanced. The importance and consequence of that family must have been better known to Mr. Watts than to Mr. Becher; and, though the former parts of Mr. Watts' letter to the President are disavowed, which I think he might, with a better grace, have acknowledged, yet, at the close of what he gives your Honours, as the purport of them, he says, that 'Raagbullob had been useful to us, and might be more so'; which speaks a flat contradiction to the sentiments of Mr. Becher, touching the regard due to that family from us. Whether there was or was not

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a probability of the *Begum's* success, was not the matter in point, nor is a bit cleared up by Mr. Becher's conjecture; that such was our intelligence, as set forth in my letter, is fact; not only the letters which came daily to Omychund, but to many of the other merchants and residents at Calcutta that kept a correspondence with the *Durbar* and city, intimated the probability of her success. These were daily brought to the President for his perusal, and many of them read in my hearing. Mr. Becher then proceeds to say,

'That Naran Sing was sent to demand Kissendass and his wealth, which the English unjustly detained from him. Cannot account for his coming in disguise; believes he did not, and is confirmed in that belief by Mr. Holwell's own account of the affair, who does not intimate this disguise gained credit with him; expresses and repeats his astonishment why the affair of Kissendass and the messenger was not laid before the Council, and that Messrs. Drake, Manningham, and Holwell should assume a power no ways delegated to them, etc.'

(This last circumstance is echoed to by Mr. Watts, in his letter before your Honours.)

How Mr. Becher could represent that Naran Sing was sent to demand Kissendass and his wealth, unjustly detained by the English, carries not that needful precaution with it incumbent on every gentleman who thinks himself obliged to censure the conduct of another. The detention of any matter or thing can never, in propriety of speech, be asserted or employed before a demand made. Kissendass had been admitted into the Settlement, as some hundreds of others had been in my remembrance, who had connections with the Government. Roy Doolob, Rejah Monickchund, Futtuah Chund, and many others had, time out of mind, houses established in your Settlement. The arrival of Naran Sing was the first demand made on account of Kissendass; therefore our being charged with unjustly detaining him or his wealth, prior to their being demanded, which the above assertion intimated, if it carries any meaning at all, is, I conceive, both unjust and improper. I am sorry to observe that gentlemen, in the course of their arguments, make use of such parts only of my address to your Honours of the 30th of November as seem to support their own conjectures; was it not so, Mr. Becher could never have been at a loss to account for the disguise of Naran Sing, nor would have been at all puzzled to find which disguise I gave credit to. In my ninth paragraph Mr. Becher would have found that an order had been published that none should be admitted into the Settlement without a strict examination. This was well known

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at Hougley the last place Naran Sing left, several inhabitants of that city having been refused admittance, and others turned out who were judged to be the spies of the Government. This was reason sufficient to determine Naran Sing's stealing into the place in disguise. In my forty-first paragraph where I form a judgment of Omychund's conduct, I expresly say that his bringing Naran Sing down will not admit of dispute; therefore, though I do not as expressly say I gave credit to his coming in the disguise of a Bengal *pykar*, yet it was obvious such must have been my belief, by my implied conclusion of Omychund's deceit. This circumstance of the disguise may, at first sight, be deemed a matter not worth giving your Honours trouble; but the purpose it is brought to serve urges my speaking to it, because, if this gentleman can strip us of the disguise, he thinks he divests us of the reasons for our subsequent conduct to Naran Sing, which, he then thinks, appear without foundation. Why the admission of Kissendass and expulsion of Naran Sing were not laid before the Council Mr. Becher might have easily answered himself, if he had been disposed to think a little deeper on the subject. The admission of any one into the Settlement was never, that I have known, a matter judged necessary to be laid before the Council; the President having ever had a power lodged in him in matters of this kind. The expulsion of Naran Sing, consistent with the conduct deemed necessary on the occasion, would not admit of time for the Council's meeting. Naran Sing was every moment expected within the Fort. Had the President either seen the messenger, or his *purwannah*, the measure resolved on could not have been carried properly into execution. Besides in my thirteenth paragraph Mr. Becher might have seen that when I attended the Governor with the account of the preceding night's transactions, I found Messrs. Manningham and Frankland with him; the measure resolved on was during Mr. Frankland's stay, and unanimously our opinion, who were in fact a majority of the then members of the Council. So that I hope, on the whole, your Honours will not think this charge of an assuming power any ways material against us or deserving your censure; nor did a single member of the Council, which met the same morning, object to the steps taken; but on the contrary, as Mr. Drake truly asserts, expressed their approval of it. To close my remarks on this part of Mr. Becher's letter, I must with Mr. Drake say, that as that gentleman was resident with leave in Calcutta, and not exempted though excused from his attendance on Councils, if the admission of Kissendass, etc. was, in his opinion, a wrong measure, and obviously injurious to the interest of his employers,

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it was his duty to have attended, or even demanded a Council, and objected thereto; in not doing it, he in fact became more deserving censure than ourselves, who were of a contrary opinion, and can only be accused of an error in judgment. Mr. Becher next refers to the Nabob's letter to Mr. Pigot, as proof that the detention of the Nabob's subjects was the cause of our misfortunes; that means were neglected to mollify the Nabob, why, he knows not; is persuaded money would have satisfied him; believes it was never attempted; that we refused the mediation of Wazeed; that it was not the intention of the Government to divest the Europeans of their fortifications, he thinks is proved by the Nabob's only fleecing the French and Dutch when he had it so evidently in his power to have taken their Factories; that in not doing it, he did not act consistent with Ally Verdy Cawn's advice; says, he was informed Naran Sing took the opportunity of the resentment the Nabob shewed on the receipt of the Governor's answer to represent the treatment and insult he had received in Calcutta; and that he does not admit Ally Verdy Cawn's speech to be genuine.

Permit me, Honourable Sirs, to refer in my turn to the Nabob's letter to Mr. Drake as a more authentic voucher for the cause of our misfortunes than that to Mr. Pigot; which evidently appears calculated as an apology for a conduct he knew was not to be defended nor by the English to be looked over. In his letter to Mr. Drake, he mentions the article of our fortifications only; the answer to it is agreed on all hands to have been the principal cause of his resentment and passion at Rajamaal. If Naran Sing really took this opportunity, it can only be deemed a secondary cause, which might help to keep up the first impression of resentment conceived at the President's reply. Mr. Becher asserts he was informed Naran Sing took this opportunity, etc. May it please Your Honours to hear what Mr. Watts says on this subject in the third paragraph of his letter before you, where he first recites that he had by proper application hushed up the affair; but that '*possibly*, when the Nabob received the Governor's letter, which so incensed him, Naran Sing *might* take that opportunity,' etc. So that allowing that for fact which in truth has no proof at all, the utmost that can be made of it will fall greatly short of Mr. Becher's supposititious principal cause of our misfortunes: to which let it be remembered, that the Nabob, in the letter to Mr. Pigot, referred to by Mr. Becher, artfully avoids mentioning the cause he had all along assigned to us for his resentment; though he had, twenty days prior to the dispatch of that letter, made it the principal Article of the *machulka* executed by

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Mr. Watts, to wit, the demolition of our fortifications. The conclusions drawn by Mr. Becher, and also by Mr. Watts, that money was wanted, and that it was never the intention of the Government to divest the Europeans of their forts, by the Nabob's fleecing only the French and Dutch, are equally fallacious, and can proceed only from wilful or real ignorance of the state of the country and the Nabob's fresh intelligence which called his speedy return to Muxadavad from Calcutta. The Nabob of Purranea's troops were in motion on the Malda Creek, from the mouth of which it was easy, in the *Suba's* absence, to cross over to the island of Cossimbuzar; therefore the Nabob could not, with safety or prudence, engage in any enterprize against the French and Dutch that would possibly hazard his quick return. That money would have satisfied him but that it never was attempted, that means were neglected to mollify him, that Wazeed's mediation was rejected, are all conjectures and assertions, urged against known facts, not to treat them more harshly, which they certainly deserve. Mr. Becher's sentiments of Ally Verdy Cawn's speech, in which also Messrs. Watts and Collet concur, I will beg leave to speak to in my following reply to those Gentlemen.

Your Honours will have the goodness to recollect, that when I addressed you, the 30th November, I had no Consultations or other vouchers to refer to; so that the utmost I could do, in the recital and dates of such papers as were addressed to the Board during the troubles, was to consult the memory of Mr. Secretary Cooke, as well as my own, which I did. If I erred in the purport of the letter from Mr. Collet, advising of the loss of Cossimbuzar, it appears however it was not in any very essential circumstance; whether Mr. Watts alone signed the *machulka*, or Messrs. Collet and Batson with him, is not very material. Mr. Collet denies his having wrote that he was delivering up the Factory; but admits that he gave an order to the officer to deliver the cannon and ammunition to Roy Dullob; which I believe will be deemed as like a delivery of the Factory as possible. This gentleman, in his second paragraph, says, 'Mr. Holwell insists much that they ought to have made some defence': to which I reply, I have not insisted at all on it, nor once used the word 'ought,' on this occasion, and refer Your Honours to my letter. Further separate or distinct reply this gentleman's answer does not call for.

Messrs. Watts and Collet charge me with labouring to arraign their conduct. I am not conscious I deserve it, and therefore disavow the charge. In my letter of the 30th November, I barely set forth the

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advantages which would probably have resulted from the smallest defence of Cossimbuzar. I have not even said, they *could* or *ought* to have defended it; but on the contrary hoped, and that sincerely too, they had reasons sufficient to vindicate their not defending it; these reasons they had transmitted to Your Honours. I conceived it also their duty to have laid them before the Board on joining our Council at Fulta; this conduct would possibly have prevented much altercation and writing, and at the same time have demonstrated they had made no representation to Your Honours in which they feared a detection. Mr. Watts (to whose answer I come now more particularly) is pleased to say, second paragraph;

'That he never heard of Raagbullob being imprisoned till after the old Nabob's death; wonders where Mr. Holwell picked up his intelligence, etc.—denies the purport of the letters recommending the reception of Raagbullob's family, as set forth by me in my seventh paragraph; gives a recital of the said letters, leaving out those parts he imagines might throw any blame upon himself; admits the purport of the letter he wrote the President, as quoted by me in my eighth paragraph; never heard the *Begum* would get the better; wonders again where Mr. Holwell got his intelligence; admits Mr. Holwell's fifth paragraph; never imagined a loose abandoned woman could stand in competition with Surajud Dowla, &c.' Touching the imprisonment of Raagbullob, I will not at this distance contend with Mr. Watts; that he was some time under the restraint of a strong guard, after the decease of his master, is fact; that he did not discover his wealth to the old Nabob, unless in some trifles, plainly appears from hence that the Nabob did not get at the knowledge of his uncle's capital wealth until after his return to the City from Calcutta. Mr. Watts's admitting my fifth paragraph is the strongest proof against himself I can possibly produce; for in that very paragraph the resolution Raagbullob had shewn for the interest of the family is urged by me as a reason for his never being forgiven by Surajud Dowla; and lower down, 'That, in resentment for the usage he had unjustly received for his integrity,' he joined the young *Begum's* councils. Therefore, on what foundation Mr. Watts attempts here to invalidate my intelligence, and at the same time accedes to my fifth paragraph which demonstrably supports that intelligence, is something unaccountable. Touching my mis-recital of his letters in favour of the reception of Raagbullob's family, I will only say, that no self-consideration could possibly sway me to deviate from the truth. I never condemned, nor do now, the recommendation

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transmitted in their favour by Mr. Watts. I thought, as things were circumstanced, he was vindicated in urging their reception, and have therefore said, he might, with better grace, have owned his instances in their favour were in stronger terms. '*My only view was to justify the gentleman who received them, being myself noways concerned in that transaction.*' However I will for once suppose, his letters were as he recites them, which he closes by saying,—' Raagbullob had been of use, and might be more so.' These expressions are sufficient, in my opinion, to justify Mr. Manningham's receiving his family. But wholly to refute Mr. Watts's representations on these heads, I must observe that he admits 'he did write the Governor to turn them out, (as I have set forth in my eighth paragraph) the moment he suspected any ill consequences might attend their longer residence in Calcutta.' Now permit me, honourable sirs, to enquire, what could be the motives which urged Mr. Watts to the contrary measures of first recommending their reception and afterwards their expulsion? Mr. Watts acknowledges, ' Raagbullob had been useful, and might be more so.' That he could be more useful was not in nature but in consequence of his mistress, the young *Begum's*, success. If there was no probability of her success, Mr. Watts becomes unpardonable in recommending, in any shape, the family, or any part of the family, to be received in the Settlement, as he knew Raagbullob would be highly obnoxious to the succeeding government of Surajud Dowla. Thus it will be manifest to Your Honours that this gentleman's injudicious attempt to censure my intelligence, has thrown his own conduct into a difficulty, which might otherwise have escaped notice; but this instance will not appear single.

That Mr. Watts never 'heard the taking of Gyria and naval strength of the English were the occasion of much speculation at the *Durbar*,' I am inclined to believe, or he certainly would have taken some pains to have set both in a proper light, and prevented their raising any jealousies in the Government, which were augmented by the report of the war between us and the French extending to Bengal. His never hearing likewise that the report of the sixteen ships of war and a strong land force gained belief at the *Durbar* I as readily believe, but can by no means admit that Mr. Watts's ignorance of these particulars amounts to proof they were not so. In my tenth paragraph, I set forth the purport of a letter Mr. Watts wrote the President some time before the death of the old Nabob. This letter Mr. Watts has not disowned, or denied the truth of the contents as I have recited them. In it he informs the President,

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'That there were a multitude of the Government's spies in Calcutta; that the small strength of its garrison and fortifications, and the easy capture of it, were the public discource of the *Durbar* and City, &c.'

Discourses of this kind ought to have alarmed Mr. Watts: they were prior to any complaint of the detention of subjects, etc. His advice to the President to be upon his guard was doubtless well judged; but ought he to have rested here? Surely no! It must have occurred to Mr. Watts, that there were extraordinary causes for discourses of this unprecedented nature, which he should have traced to their source, and guarded against them by an easy refutation of our enemies misrepresentations. Had this been done, he would have found that a belief of the above-recited reports could alone be the cause of the discourses he transmitted to the President, and of which he confesses his intire ignorance. The character he is pleased to draw of Angria, and his conclusious from it, appear to me so extremely and obviously weak and unjust, as to require no reply; and the despicable light he represents the *Durbar* in shews he has little real knowledge of a people he has so long resided with.

The reports above mentioned, and the public discourses of the *Durbar* and City which followed on their gaining belief without any attempts made to confute them, have so close a connection with the old *Suba's* last council to Surajud Dowla, as recited in my twenty-eighth paragraph, that I cannot, in a more proper place, reply to the reception it has met with from Messrs. Becher Watts, and Collet, whose sentiments have a mixture of the solemn and sprightly not becoming the subject they were treating of nor the civility or decency due to every gentleman engaged in any point of controversy, as the sum-total of all their opinions does in fact charge me with imposing a forgery on Your Honours that had no foundation but my own invention. This will best appear from the gentlemen's own words.

Mr. Becher is pleased to say,

'He does not admit of Ally Verdy Cawn's speech to be genuine; that Mr. Holwell, in his distressed situation, was unable to unravel the mysteries of the cabinet, and explore a secret never yet known to any one but himself.'

Mr. Collet is pleased to call Ally Verdy Cawn's speech a specious fable: And Mr. Watts says,

'The last dying speech of Mahabut Jung, neither I, nor I believe any of the Factory ever heard of; nor since from any of the country-

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people;—it seems an imitation of Lewis the XIV. to his grandson, and appears, as Mr. Collet aptly terms it, a specious fable.'

That Mr. Becher should not believe the speech genuine I do not much wonder at, as he seems fully resolved that nothing shall drive him from his adopted principal cause of our misfortunes, the detention of the Nabob's subjects, in confutation of which I have said sufficient; but the reasons this gentleman gives for his believing the speech not genuine had been better omitted for his own sake. The speech might probably enough have been a secret whilst it was necessary it should be so; but when I obtained it that necessity had long vanished, and Mr. Becher might have observed I say I had it from good authority, after my releasement, which was more than three months after the period it was uttered, and was no longer to be deemed a mystery of the cabinet, but might be judiciously enough divulged and circulated as an apology for and in support of Surajud Dowla's proceedings against the English, &c. . Mr. Becher's opinion, 'that I was unable to *explore* a secret, never yet known to any *one* but myself,' I would explain and reply to, could I possibly understand him. Shall only add, for Your Honours' satisfaction, and in vindication of my own veracity, that I was released the 16th of July, and continued at the *Tankfall*, and the Dutch and French Factories, until the 19th at night; during which period I had frequent conferences with the principal Armenians, and some the immediate servants of the late and present *Suba*, from whence I had the speech literally as I have given it; and, notwithstanding the ingenious ridicule it meets from Messieurs Watts and Collet to cover their deficiency in matters which ought to have been known to them, I will not despair of giving Your Honours yet more convincing proofs of its being genuine; and that there passed some other transactions at the *Durbar* to which they appear utter strangers, or, if known, unhappily for your service and us, were unattended to.

Subsequent to the delivery of my letter of the 30th of November, I received an intimation of a conversation which had passed between the old *Suba*, Surajud Dowla, and Mr. William Forth, your surgeon at Cossimbuzar: this conversation appearing to me the strongest corroborating proof of my assertions on the real cause of our misfortunes, I requested Mr. Forth would give it me, in writing, which he obligingly did, from Chinsura, under date the 15th of December 1756, but it reached me not until after my letter was delivered into Council: I have had the honour of showing it to your Chairman, and now beg

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leave to transcribe it here, the original being ready for your perusal. It is as follows:[1]—

'About fifteen days before the old Nabob died, I being obliged to attend every morning to see him, his son came in, and with a face full of resentment and anger, addressed himself to the old man thus:—Father, I am well informed the English are going to assist the *Begum*. The old man asked me directly if this was true? I answered, That this must be a malicious report of some who were not our friends, and done on purpose to prejudice the Company; that the Company were merchants, and not soldiers; and that in all the troubles that had happened in the country, since we had a Settlement in it, if he pleased to enquire, he would find, we had not joined any party, or interfered in any thing but our trade; and that the Company had been nigh a hundred years in this country, in which time they never once had a dispute with the Government on that head. How many soldiers, says he, have you in your Factory (Cossimbuzar)? Answer, The usual number, about forty, gentlemen included. Have you never more? Answer, No. Only when the Morattors were in the country, but as soon as they were gone, the soldiers were returned to Calcutta. Do you know, asked he, if the Dutch and French have any come up? Answer, I cannot tell. Where are your ships of war? Answer, At Bombay. Will they come here? Not that I know of; there is no occasion for them. Had you not some here three months ago? Answer, Yes. There comes one or two yearly, for to carry provisions for the rest of the ships. What is the reason you have these ships of war in these parts, of late? Answer, To protect the Company's trade, and for fear of a war with France. Is there war now between you and the French? Answer, No, not at present, but we are afraid it will be soon. He then turned about to his grandson, and told him he did not believe a word of the report he had heard; upon which Surajud Dowla, answered, He could prove it. The old man desired I would send our *vaqueel* to him directly, which having accordingly done; when he returned, I asked the *vaqueel* what the old man said to him, which was almost word for word that passed with me. Surajud Dowla ordered the *vaqueel* to attend his *Durbar* daily, which was accordingly done, agreeably to his orders.

I am, Sir, &c. &c., WILLIAM FORTH.'

[1] See vol. ii., p. 65, where an almost word-for-word account of the same incident is given in Mr. Forth's letter to Mr. Drake of the December 16, 1756.

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Though the report which introduced this conversation was most untrue, yet the interrogatories which followed plainly point out the sentiments of the *Durbar;* and this, joined to the other public discourses of the *Durbar* and City, touching the defenceless state and easy capture of Calcutta, as transmitted by Mr. Watts about this time to the President, are I must again repeat, manifest proofs that jealousies in the Government were the first and principal causes which urged the *Suba's* determination to divest us of our fortification: and though they may be said not to amount to an absolute proof of the genuineness of the old *Suba's* speech to his grandson, yet they are strongly presumptive. But to return to Mr. Watts, whose insinuations and hearsays, from his eighth paragraph, require but short notice.

This gentleman is pleased to say, we had ten times the number of men and stores they had; to which I say, that the difference of our fortifications and the force brought against us and them considered, we had not even an equality. In their letter to us of the first of June, they advise of 12,000 troops only brought against them, which Mr. Watts now swells to 30,000. Mr. Watts asks me why I did not continue to defend the Factory, I had five times the number of men they had at Cossimbuzar? Had not Mr. Watts been guided more by malice than truth in this and his subsequent interrogatories, he would, from the letter he is answering, have found the number left in the Factory did not exceed 170; that of these we had 25 killed and 70 wounded by noon, the 20th, and that every man who survived was exhausted of strength and vigour. In these circumstances, I believe I should be justified to my Honourable Employers if I had really delivered up the Factory, which Mr. Watts asserts I did from the account drawn up by Mr. Gray, who, I believe, wrote from the best of his knowledge, though his narrative is in many parts very defective. Mr. Watts avers he never heard a syllable of the back gate being betrayed until I returned. If he had been solicitous to come at the truth, how came he not to apply to Messrs. Walcot[1] and Dickson; they were both at Chandernagore, and are both mentioned by me in my narrative. Mr. Gray mentions in his account, that 'some rushed out at the gate towards the river'; it might have occured to Mr. Watts, if truth had been his aim, to ask Mr. Gray how they could rush out, the keys being in my possesion and that gate not only locked but barred and bolted? But these enquiries would not have squared with Mr. Watts's purpose

[1] Mr. Walcot was with Mr. Holwell at Murshidabad.

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of detraction. His intelligence, picked up (to borrow his own phrase,) from Corporal Angell, is equally authentic; for I solemnly aver, such an incident never happened as the match, &c., though most certainly I should have so acted had any rashness of that kind been attempted, which could have answered no good purpose before the order was issued for a general discharge, which was then my object, if the back gate had not been forced.

Touching Mr. Drake's answer, I find but few particulars that are not fully discussed, in my letter of the 30th of November. *His misfortunes are sufficiently heavy not to bear any addition to the load; and I could wish he had not obliged me to speak at all.* He remarks, my accusations are confined to my superiors, and not juniors; intimates, my sophistry only tends to supplant my seniors. I could appeal to some of your honourable Court, that this is not my talent, and that I am capable of doing justice to the merit of my seniors, though my declared enemies. Mr. Drake, taking advantage of the lost Consultations, asserts the letter to the Nabob was answered in Consultation; in this assertion he should have taken care that no circumstance should impeach his veracity as effectually as if the Consultations could appear against him. He knows in his heart that it never appeared in Consultation until after the receipt of the Chief and Council of Cossimbuzar's letter, advising of the Nabob's being incensed at the purport of it, when it was judged necessary to dispatch immediately a copy of it to those gentlemen: had he not been conscious of this, would he have neglected so favourable an opportunity, when he had it in his power of consulting me, and thereby of justly rendering every part of my narrative suspected? I was positive and clear in my averment and reasoning thereon, and the answer was an act of his own; and there were of those members surviving, Messrs. Pearkes, Frankland, Macket, and Mr. Secretary Cooke, to have confuted me; but, in place of this, Mr. Drake prefers the measure of throwing this allegation into his letter at a time he was sure I should never see it abroad, and imagining possibly that might be the case here.

I did not 'tis true, mention the 70 men in sick quarters, because, on enquiry, I could not find there was one. The attempt to possess Tannas's was made some days after my motion in the Council of War was over-ruled. Mr. Drake asserts all methods were used to send succours to the Fort; but intimates that Captain Nicholson was the only one would undertake it. Him we never saw nor heard of. On my joining the fleet at Fulta, I did hear he was sent into Govindpore Creek, to burn and destroy the great boats there that they might

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not be employed by the enemy in the attack or pursuit of the ships.[1]

May it, &c. &c., J. Z. HOLWELL.

98. *Letter from Colonel Clive to his father, dated Calcutta, 19 August, 1757.*

HONOURED SIR,—My last was from Chandernagore, since which a revolution has been effected (by means of the military only) scarcely to be parallelled in history. Finding after all our efforts the Prince of this country was determined to ruin the English Company and had called in the French for that purpose, we determined to ward off the blow by beginning first; accordingly the army, consisting of 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 Blacks and a fine Train of Artillery, began their march from Chandernagore the 13th June last, and on the 23rd met the Nabob on the plains of Placy with an army of 60,000 men. A battle ensued in which he was entirely defeated with the loss of his camp, all his baggage and forty pieces of cannon. We pursued our enemy for six miles but to little purpose for want of horse: in the evening a very great man and near relation of the Nabob joined us with a considerable force, with whom we had entered into a private treaty to set up in the room of Seerajah Dowlet. He pursued his march to the capital on which the other took to flight and was killed in the pursuit. The other, Jaffeir Ally Cawn Bahader, was proclaimed Nabob in his room to the great joy and satisfaction of the three Provinces. In consideration of the great services rendered Jaffeir Ally Cawn Bahader by the English he has agreed to give both publick and private to the amount of three million sterling—one half of which is absolutely received. His generosity has been such as will enable me to live in my native country much beyond my most sanguine wishes. This you will observe by my letter to my Attornies, and the papers enclosed therein. Out of that sum about £36,000 belongs to others. However what is there is not above one half of the Nabob's gift and I am in great hopes of getting the rest. I have ordered £2,000 each to my sisters and shall take care of my brothers in due time. I would advise the Lasses to marry as soon as possible for they have no time to lose. There is no occasion for your following the Law any more, but more of this when I have the pleasure of seeing you, which I hope will be in twelve or fourteen months.

[1] The last paragraph is not given in the original letter in *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, 1757, vol. 40, India Office.

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Mrs. Clive takes her passage upon the *Tyger*, Captain Latham, and will sail from hence in six weeks taking Bombay in her way. I propose leaving this place in January, and in all probability shall overtake the squadron either at the Cape of Good Hope or St. Helena. If I can but leave this country in peace, which I believe I shall, nothing shall detain me longer.

You may now order the Rector to get every thing ready for the reparation of old Stych. I shall bring his brother home with £15,000 as likewise Mrs. Clive's brother.

If I can get into Parliament I shall be very glad, but no more struggles against the Ministry. I chuse to be with them.

Mrs. Clive will write my mother at large. My best respects and kindest wishes attend her, not forgetting my brothers and sisters, and I am,

Honoured Sir, your most dutiful and obedient Son, R. C.

99. *Letter from Colonel Clive to Mr. Belchier, 21 August, 1757.*

DEAR SIR,—I need not enter into a particular detail of the grand Revolution brought about in this country by the forces under my command. You will hear enough of this from all hands; it is sufficient to say the Company and private persons are likely to be gainers three millions sterling by this expedition, besides which the Company have had a tract of land given them which will produce some £150,000 *per annum*. My general letter to my Attornies will make known to you the large remittances sent by means of the Dutch. It is possible I may send another such by the next conveyance.

I wait for nothing but the settlement of these Provinces to begin my voyage for old England, which I hope will be some time in January. As this good news may set my Father upon exerting himself too much and upon paying too many visits to the Duke of N——, Mr. Fox and other great men, I desire you will endeavour to moderate his expectations, for although I intend getting into Parliament, and have hopes of being taken some notice of by His Majesty, yet you know the merit of all actions are greatly lessened by being too much boasted of. I know my father's disposition leads this way, which proceeds from his affection for me.

Mr. George Clive will accompany me, worth £18,000 or £20,000. I am sorry Mr. Ironside was so precipitate in his resolution of returning home; this expedition would have been of great service to him. Every

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subaltern officer will be near £3,000 the richer for it. My father will acquaint you with other particulars. Mrs. Clive joins with me in compliments to all friends and I am,

Dear Sir, &c. &c., R. C.

100. *Letter from Lieutenant R. Hayter to Admiral Pocock, dated H.M.S.* 'Salisbury,' 21 *August*, 1757.

SIR,—I beg leave to lay before you a complaint of the injustice done me, when I was under Colonel Clive's command (by Admiral Watson's orders) with a detachment of seamen on the expedition against the Naboh. Before Admiral Watson died I applied to him for redress, being the Commander-in-Chief; you having succeeded to the command, I think it my duty now to make application to you.

On the 21st of June the forces under Colonel Clive's command being at the village Cutwa, the Colonel gave orders for all Captains to meet at his Quarters, where a Council of War was held. I, having by virtue of my commission a rank as Captain of the Army, went there, and expected to have sat at the Council as his Majesty's Order of Rank directs. But Captain Grant and Captain Coote (both of Colonel Adlercron's Regiment) and the whole Court objected to my taking rank of all the India Company's Captains, which I insisted on (the King's Captains' Commission were senior to mine). I represented to Colonel Clive the right I had by his Majesty's Order of Rank to take place next to them, but he would not allow it me, upon which I refused to sit as a Member of the Council. Not long after Admiral Watson ordered me with the detachment to join the squadron, and as soon as I arrived at Calcutta I made application to him for redress on the dishonourable treatment of the Corps of Officers by Colonel Clive.

As my application to Admiral Watson was personal, I thought it might be requisite, and indeed was advised by gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the Service, to lay my case before him in writing, which I had done and intended to present to him, but his sudden death prevented me. On your succeeding to the command, I concluded you must for some days be much taken up with business, but hope now I shall not be thought troublesome in laying this before you. I am, Sir,

Your dutiful and most obedient Servant, R. HAYTER.

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101. *Extract from a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive, to John Payne, Esq.*, per 'Diligent' *sloop, dated Calcutta, 24 August*, 1757.

The ill effects arising from want of resolution in any of your Servants in time of danger may easily be remedied by investing your President and a certain number of officers with the sole power of defending your garrisons when attacked, and rendering them responsible for their conduct to a General Court Martial. Let it be a standing order in all your principal Settlements that no fortification be given up to your enemy without a breach made and standing one assault (a want of ammunition and provisions excepted). In time of War the above restriction will leave your succeeding Presidents without power of injuring or discrediting your affairs.

It would give me much concern to have an arbitrary construction, proceeding from my present profession, put on these general hints. My turn of mind is so very different, and I have the liberty of an Englishman so strongly implanted in my nature, that I would have the Civil all in all, in all times and in all places (cases of immediate danger excepted). When your principal Settlements are attacked, I would then have those who are paid for defending your properties and estates made answerable for the consequences.

102. *A Remonstrance of the Commissioners appointed for examining the losses sustained by the Black Inhabitants of Calcutta (Appended to Fort William, Public Consultations, 17 April*, 1758).

1st. Whereas Omichund brought the account of his losses to the Commissioners they said that they were informed he would not give in the account of his losses and that the same might be shared amongst the poor people, to which Omichund answered that it is true he had proposed so at first as the Nabob had promised to give him thirty *lacks* of rupees, which he hath not received, therefore he brought his account to the Commissioners.

2nd. Several Black Inhabitants of Calcutta having complained to the Honourable Board that they have seen the Nabob's colours and guard in his house, and they are sensible his goods were not plundered; on examining which [it] was found to be true that the Nabob's colours was hoisted in his house, and his house was kept by the Nabob's guard.

3rd. Jaggernaut *Jammadar* and Omraw *Kismutgar* belonging to Omichund having conducted the Nabob into Calcutta they also broke open

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the Prison House or *Cutwally Chubbuthaw* and released the criminals and plundered the Town, which the Commissioners were also informed of, and the *Cutwall* likewise is ready to satisfy the Honourable Board with the truth thereof.

The above objections have prevented the Commissioners to examine Omichund's account of losses till they receive further orders from the Honourable Board.

SOOBARAM BYSACK, GOVINDRAM METER, ROTOO SORJAR, NEELMONEY, NAYAN MALICK, ARYKISHONO SALMER, DAYRAMBOSS, RAM SANTOSS, DURJARAMDAT, MAMOOD SADACK, OLLYBAY, AYNODEE, SUCDEB MOLICK.[1]

103. *Letter from Petras Arratoon to the Court of Directors, dated 25 January, 1759.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,—It is with the most humble submission I assume liberty to address the following narrative to your Honourable Board, to set in a true and faithful light the indefatigable pains, charges, and imminent dangers myself and the persons therein mentioned underwent to relieve the miseries of the English Gentry after they had been extirpated [from] Calcutta by the invasion of the Moors, and refuged on board their ships at Fulta and to be instrumental to bring matters to the happy state they are in at present.

The calamaties and condition the English familys were in on board their ships at Fulta I need not describe, no doubt but the Honourable Company have had a very particular account of their dilemma and sufferings; I shall proceed to relate how far their deplorable state made impressions on one Abraham Jacobs (a Jew) and myself. The said Abraham Jacobs applyed himself to me with a prospect to join him to endeavour to contribute the English some relief. A proposition of that commiseration and humanity I readily came into, solemnly plighted him my faith to yield them my utmost assistance with all imaginable alacraty, fervency, and fidelity, even to the hazard of my life. Upon this Abraham Jacobs remained in my house at Calcutta disguised in Moor's habit. We mutually consulted and agreed the first step we were to take was to get the speech of Omichund, and to bring him over to be an instrument to promote our schemes who had great interest with the Moors, and, though Mr. Drake and Council addressed him twice before to no effect, he not so much as giving them an answer, yet

[1] On the May 1 the Council passed the following order upon this petition and Omichund's reply: 'Ordered it' (the reply) 'to be entered, as the Board sees no reason as yet for excluding Omichund from the benefit of the Nabob's donation for the reparation of losses sustained by the black inhabitants'

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we were so fortunate as to prevail with him to join our cause, and the first thing we effected was to obtain the country people to bring provisions to Fulta market which they were restrained from before. We likewise conveyed boats and *lascars* to attend the ships, and indeed we studied and laboured and left no stone unturned to yield them all the conveniencys and necessarys we possibly could obtain either by interest or presents out of our shipwrecked fortunes, for there was no favours, scarce humanity to be expected from such mercenary wretches without the prevailance of presents. We then proceeded to advise Major Kilpatrick to send a letter to Monickchund Governour of Calcutta which he did and we delivered [it to] him and were so happy to have him receive it favourably, and returned an answer. This success spirited us to advise the Major to write to Coja Wazeed and Jugut Seat, and we carried these letters to Hughly and delivered them to the said Coja Wazeed and Jugut Seat's *gomasters*, and returned with satisfactory answers to the Major. The good consequences of these correspondences was the obtaining a cessation of hostilitys or disturbances of the Moors towards the English, which continued till the arrival of his Majesty's Squadron. The said Abraham Jacobs and myself were almost incessantly employed in traveling up and down the river, carrying them all the assistance we could and giving them advices of all the occurrances we could learn; which brought on us great expences by keeping great number of servants, boats, small presents to the Moors' under officers not to impede or molest us, as well as the inexpressible trouble and anxious fears least we might be betrayed. As I hinted before our fortunes were for the major part shipwrecked at the sacking of the town and our circumstances at a very low ebb. All the money we received from Mr. Drake and Major Kilpatrick at Fulta amounted to no more than Rupees 150 and 380, which last sum was employed on this occasion. It was thought necessary towards accommodating matters with the Nabob we should have the King's *phirmaund* to produce if required, which was lost, but William Frankland Esq. accidentally found among his papers the copy of the *phirmaund*, which we got fair translated, and paid that sum to an officer at Hughly who had the Mogul's *chop* to affix it to the same. In the beginning of October 1756 Omichund went to Muxadavad in order to endeavour an accommodation, when the said Abraham Jacobs wearied out with continual fatigue fell sick at Chinsera, so that the whole weight of affairs fell alone upon me, to be perpetually employd backwards and forwards to Fulta &c., as prementioned, till the arrival of his Majesty's squadron, Admiral Watson of glorious memory and Colonel Clive, who finding

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nothing could be effected by fair means with Serajut Dowla, he being a Prince whose word could in no wise be depended on, perfidious in his nature and a promise-breaker, which occasioned hostilitys to commence on the side of the English, and, after retaking Calcutta, the Colonel and his army encamped to the northward of the town, and the Nabob soon marched his army from Muxadavad and encamped very near him. However a treaty was set on foot, and I employed to negociate between both partys, but the brave Colonel Clive rightly conceiving the Nabob trifled and did not mean to come to any terms of accommodation, he judged it necessary to compel him by force of arms, accordingly gave him battle, and God was pleased to crown him with victory which brought the Nabob to terms of peace; which being settled and Articles confirmed, he returned with his army to Muxadavad. Afterwards William Watts Esq. and I were sent thither to receive what compensation was agreed on in the treaty of peace. A part thereof was received, the remainder withheld by the Nabob. Here words can't express what rouble Mr. Watts and self had in attendance and endeavouring to get from him the remainder. That gentleman perceived plainly the Nabob was dealing treacherously with the English, and had information he was *privatly* perfidiously concerting measures with the French, and his behavior confirmed Mr. Watts in the same, for when he sent me to demand from the Nabob the remaining money, he threatned if Mr. Watts presumed to make any further demand to take his life away. Due advice of these particulars were remitted to Calcutta. In the interim Mr. Watts, whose whole study was taken up for the good of the Company and publick cause, sent me to Jaffir Ally Cawn, one of the Nabob's noblemen, and who tacitly was disaffected with the Nabob's treacherous proceedings to him. I was to lay open a new scheme, which I did, and had I been detected, nay even suspected herein, it must have cost Mr. Watts and me our lives; but to proceed, I brought Jaffir Ally Cawn to a concession to Mr. Watts' proposal, and to enter into the scheme, and appointed a day for Mr. Watts to have an interview with him in private, to accomplish which I provided in readiness a covered *palankeen* such as the Moor women are carryed in, which is inviolable; for without previous knowledge of the deceit no one dare look into it. At the appointed time Mr. Watts was carried to Jaffir Ally Cawn's house, and there concluded and confirmed the scheme untill an answer of approbation could be had from the Select Committee at Calcutta. As soon as the same arrived, I requested leave of the Nabob for Mr. Watts and self to retire for three days to the Garden House without the city, which

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being granted we lost no time to make our escape from thence to meet Colonel Clive who was on the march with his army for Muxadavad, and by the blessing of Providence got safe; a narrow escape indeed, for had we deferred our flight three hours longer, though we acted with the greatest conduct and secresy till matters were ripe for action, we should have both been taken and put to the most miserable death. Your Honors may be pleased to observe here what risque Mr. Watts and self run of our lives for your interest. I need not mention the wonderful effects and issue our labour has produced. What a happy change in the state of your affairs, to have a peaceable possession of Calcutta confirmed to you &c. But I must beg leave to exhibit to Your Honors that though I have gone through such great travel, pain, anxiety and dangers in assisting the English familys in the depth of their distress, being instrumental towards the happy Revolution, yet Your Honors have not taken the least notice or mention of me nor of Abraham Jacobs, my fellow labourer untill his fatigues as prementioned afflicted him with sickness; nor even the expences we disbursed have not been repaid us, which incites me to believe that my services have not been represented to Your Honors. If they have I have reason to believe not in a clear and genuine but very faint light, for had Your Honors been made truely and particularly sensible of my vigor, fervency, and fidelity in your service, I flatter myself I should have been honoured with some instance of Your Honors' favour; therefore I humbly refer this genuine, but short narrative in regard to the particulars, to Your Honors' serious consideration, and hope you will consider me worthy the gratuity to have some post in Your Honors' service conferred on me, and not forget the service of Abraham Jacobs, as in your wisdom you shall judge I merit, or such reward as Your Honors shall deem fit.

Permit me, Honorable Sirs, to tender my sincere wishes for prosperity and success to attend you in all your affairs, and most respectfully to subscribe

Honourable, Your most obedient and faithful humble servant, PETROSS ARRATOON.

104. *Letter from Mr. Holwell to Council, Fort William, dated 5 November, 1759.*

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,—The 132 paragraph of the Supplement to the Honourable the Court of Directors' letter of the 23rd March 1759, read for the first time the 2nd. instant is of so extraordinary a

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nature that it cannot (be) too early spoken to by those who are or who may be supposed to be pointed at. For necessary reasons I beg leave to insert the whole paragraph.

'We are informed from good authority that two of our servants of considerable rank actually received from Kissendass upwards of fifty thousand rupees for our protecting his person against Surajah Dowlah. If this iniquitous transaction should be proved, what an account have these men to render here and hereafter, for, according to humane conjecture, it was the foundation of your late bloody calamities. The justice you owe to those murdered innocents, to your Employers and your own characters, will not suffer us even to surmise that you will screen such villany. You will therefore examine strictly and immediately into the truth of this report, give the enquiry preference to every other concern, and use every justifiable method both with Europeans and natives to come at the knowledge of facts, and, should any be found guilty, dismission from our service must not (only) instantly follow but a prosecution on our behalf for damages sustained against him or them in the Mayor's Court, and whatever precautions can be used for the security of our demand we expect on this occasion will be put in force.'

The rectitude of my own heart, joined to the words of 'considerable rank' had near convinced me no part of this heavy charge of iniquity and villany could possibly be aimed at me, but when I found myself most unjustly superceded in the very next paragraph without any cause given by me, or assigned by the Honourable Court of Directors, I could no longer remain in doubt that the measure of my persecutions was not yet full, and, as I find myself doomed sooner or later to fall a sacrifice to private pique and party on one pretence or other, forgive me gentlemen if, conscious of my own innocence, I am bold in my defence. I doubt not but each of you will make my case your own. You have been all witnesses of my unshaken zeal for the Company's interest and welfare, and are likewise witnesses of the returns I have met with; returns which must alarm each of you as well as myself to have your honors and characters stigmatised by covert insinuations conveyed into the ready and open ears of credulity by the tongues of malice and slander. Happy are those few remaining gentlemen who were of Council at the period alluded to in the foregoing paragraph in being able to dispise the information and retire from a service of such precarious tenure and subject to such cruel aspersions! Such should be my conduct also, was it equally in my

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power, but since that is not the case, and my rank in the service will probably in a short time become really considerable, I hold myself bound to give you, gentlemen, every satisfaction in the premises and to convince you by every means in my power that, if I am one of the two glanced at in the said 132 paragraph, such information, with respect to myself, is absolutely groundless, false, and wicked, in the most superlative degree, and I will justly borrow from the said paragraph and say what an account have those men (the informers) to render here and hereafter who could from no foundation but that of an infamous surmise or lying report attempt to blast the fame and integrity of others. With regard to the Honourable the Court of Directors so readily giving credit and sanction to that information and their tacit condemnation unheard (obvious from the tenour of their 133 paragraph) my duty and respect withholds my pen, and tells me it is time I should proceed to consider the charge itself with that freedom every man owes to the justification of his own character, though I am sensible this freedom (to which the Honourable the Court of Directors is so much estranged) will cause my dismission from the service. You are told gentlemen by the Honourable the Court of Directors that they are informed from good authority that two of their servants, &c. In reply to this permit me to say, if their authority had been good, common justice to their servants should have urged them to transmit the nature of that authority to you as well as openly to have named it here. You would have had a foundation to proceed on without being reduced to the necessity, as you now are, of going a hunting both for the accusers and accused, a task that surely was never before imposed on any body of gentlemen whatever.

You are subsequently told that the protection given to the person of Kissendass was, from all humane conjecture, the foundation of your late bloody calamities. If the Honourable the Court of Directors were really satisfied this was the foundation, permit me most humbly to expostulate with them why their resentment does not fall openly on those two persons who were more immediately concerned in granting such protection, to wit on the then Chief of Cossimbazar who so strenuously urged the necessity of doing it, and the then Governor, who would not withdraw that protection, when it became equally necessary; but, Gentlemen, if the Honourable the Court of Directors thought proper to give a preference to facts in place of all humane conjecture (which is so often subordinate to all humane malice and partiality) they would be convinced the protection granted Kissendass

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was not, in any the least degree, the foundation of your own bloody calamities, so that could that iniquitous circumstance of receiving the 50,000 rupees be proved against one or two of their servants their injoined prosecution for damages must fall to the ground. The facts above alluded to, which should in justice and propriety have the preference to humane conjecture are before the Honourable the Court of Directors, both in my address to them of November 1756[1] from Fultah and in that of August 1757[2] at London, which puts it out of their power to say they were strangers to them. The motives which have urged the suppression of those and many other facts material for the knowledge of the World are best known to the wisdom of the Honourable the Court of Directors, and it is my duty to suppose those motives are just, or at least proper to further their particular purposes, which doubtless ultimately tend to the promoting the welfare of the Company committed to their charge. Thus, for instance, I believe many in the Settlement can remember amongst the multitude of infamous reports spread at Fulta, one was that three gentlemen in the Service had received from Kissendass 50,000 rupees each, and I have no doubt but this assertion was impudently wrote home from various hands, yet now you observe, Gentlemen, it is for the good of the service that the charge should be only aimed at two. Publick Bodies do not deem themselves accountable for the justice and equity of their conduct to individuals under their command, and individuals, however injured and oppressed, will be thought audacious if they complain. But as tame submission and silence in this case would be construed into guilt, and wear more the complexion of abject slavery than a free servitude, I would here assert my own integrity and injuries without reserve, though sure poverty and want were to be the inevitable consequences. The Honourable Court of Directors may if they please take the Company's bread from me, but they should not, on every scandalous information by inuendos and informations couched as they imagine without the letter of the Laws of England, divest me of my good name and character, which their 132 paragraph most evidently aims at; and though prudence made it necessary for them to suppress names yet the manifest tendency of the whole paragraph is only calculated to give a colouring and introduction to what immediately follows, wherein not only myself but seven members of your Board, a multitude of Junior Servants, all unexceptionable in their characters and abilities, are superceded in open violation of that avowed principle of equity on

[1] November 30, 1756. [2] August 10, 1757.

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which the Honourable Court of Directors reduced me last year to my rank in the service; but to resume my own vindication permit me to represent to you, Gentlemen, that the protection granted to Kissendass depended not on me more than on any other member of the Board, that I had never, on my honor, any communication or converse with Kissendass, or with any one belonging to him prior to my seeing him a prisoner in the Factory; that my fortune, considered *anno* 1752 when I first came into the service and compared with the publick state [*i.e.* statement] of it, exposed in our late calamities, will not give the shadow of a surmise it ever had any acquisition of such a nature or in such a degree. These you will say do by no means amount to proof. They are negative proofs however, and what other than negative proofs can be given against a charge so indirect and dark? However as a further satisfaction to myself and I hope to you I intreat that the solemn oath which I shall annex to this address may be administered to me in Council, as the only additional proof as yet in my power to give you of my innocence in this particular.

Having in a former part of this address mentioned my being most unjustly superceded, it remains incumbent on me to prove this assertion; and, however little I may benefit myself by this proof, it may have the use at least that you Honourable, Sir and Sirs, and the rest of our fellow servants may know in future the estimation you ought to put in your having real merit in the Service and in having that merit acknowledged and celebrated by the Honourable Court of Directors, whose memories on this occasion I must most humbly beg leave to refresh by various extracts from their General Letters to this Presidency respecting my conduct and service.

In the 69th paragraph of the General Letter *per Pelham* under date the 23rd January 1754 the Honourable the Court of Directors are graciously pleased to say

'Mr. Holwell has fully answered our expectations in regulating and conducting the office of *Zemindar*, and has, by the considerable increase of our revenues resulting from his good management and by transmitting to us such a clear and intelligible account of the nature and state of them, convinced us of what we long suspected, that we have been most grossly imposed on in this branch of our affairs.'

In the 74 paragraph of the same letter they are still more gracious and say, Mr. Holwell's whole conduct in this affair has been entirely to our satisfaction and his abilitie, zeal, and application to serve us, are so sufficiently apparent, that we are satisfyed it will be in his power, if

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no obstructions are thrown in his way, to prove himself a very valuable servant to the Company; we shall therefore expect, as you regard our future favour, that you give him not only all necessary countenance and assistance in his particular station of *Zemindar*, but also in whatever he shall point out or intimate may be of service to the Company in any other branch of our affairs.

In the Honourable Court of Directors' letter *per Eastcourt*, under date the 31st January 1755, the 23 paragraph runs thus:—

'We have with great attention perused and considered Mr. Holwell's statement of our Revenues at Calcutta, Mr. Frankland's remarks, Mr. Holwell's reply, and the other papers relative thereto, and we must, in justice to Mr. Holwell, acquaint you that he accounts for the mistakes which have happened in that statement in a manner that convinces us they were mere inadvertencies and no ways calculated to impose upon us, that he has evidently increased our Revenues to a very considerable amount without imposing any new duties or oppressing the poor, but on the contrary several old ones have been abolished and the poor in many instances relieved, and we must as a further piece of justice to him add that the insinuations of raising his own character with us at the expence of the reputations of the gentlemen who preceded him in that office of *Zemindar* are entirely without foundation; in short his integrity, capacity and application have rendered him so well worthy of our notice that we are determined most heartily to countenance and protect him in all his endeavours to serve the Company.'

And the 94th paragraph of the same letter appoints my rank in Council in the following words:—

'Mr. Holwell having highly merited our particular notice and encouragement, and the least we can do for him is to let him rise in our service equally with the rest of our servants, we do therefore hereby annull and make void the restriction in our commands of the 8th January 1752 by which he was fixed as 12th, and last of Council, and to remain without rising to a superior rank therein, and we direct that, upon the receipt of this, Mr. Holwell take rank and his seat at the Board according to the time of his restriction in Bengall, in the same manner as if no such restriction had been made, that is to say just below Mr. Matthew Collett; but however it is our meaning that Mr. Holwell do still continue *Zemindar*, and that he is not to quit that post without our leave.'

General letter *per Ilchester* 25th March 1757 paragraph 156:—

'Having with great attention considered the state of the *Zemindary*

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during the time it has been under the management of Mr. Holwell, it is apparent to us, from the accounts you have transmitted, that our revenues in Bengall have been greatly increased, and this has been done without imposing any new dutys or oppressing the poor; if it had been otherwise you would and ought to have given us the necessary information with regard to the judicial part of this office. We must take it for granted that he has acted with the greatest integrity and lenity as there appears nothing to the contrary upon the face of your Consultations, where we must have found them had there been any reasons to have appealed from his decrees.'

Paragraph 157:—

'Considering the great service Mr. Holwell has already done, and the further services we have the greatest reason to believe he will render the Company, we do agree to allow him an additional salary of 4,000 current rupees a year, to commence from the date of this letter; this salary is to be paid him as long as he continues in the post of *Zemindar* and is to be in lieu of all fees, perquisites whatsoever; but it is our pleasure he continue in the rank and standing in Council he shall be in at the time this letter shall come to your hands and not rise to a higher station therein without our further orders.'

From the tenor of this last paragraph I think I may be justified in saying that personal resentment or other private motives took the rule, and not those of justice and equity, as the acknowledging and rewarding my merits, and at the same time having the clog again upon me, which they had so graciously and for the selfsame reasons taken off anno 1755 *per Eastcourt*, implys a most manifest and unaccountable contradiction whoever (*sic*).

In the General Letter of the 11th November 1757 *per London* and *Warren*, I am again released from that clog and appointed one of the four Governours in Rotation, and, in a subsequent letter by the same ships, on the Rotation being abolished, appointed to succeed to the Government next after Mr. Manningham, and again, by the last letters *per London* and *Warren* of the 11th April 1758, reduced to my rank in the service and appointed by the Honourable the Court of Directors to succeed to the Government in June, and now by the *Prince Henry's* letter superceded in favour of Captain James Barton, without the Honourable the Court of Directors openly impeaching or having cause to impeach that zeal, integrity, and attachment to the Company which they have so often acknowledged and rewarded. Permit me therefore, Gentlemen, through the channel of your Board, humbly to represent

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to the Court of Directors the very hard treatment I have on the whole received, and to hope it will merit their future more favourable consideration, the more especially as it appears that many, I may (say) most of the gentlemen, who have signed the *Prince Henry's* letter have also given sanction with their hands to every paragraph transmitted to this Presidency in my favour.

I am, &c. &c., JOHN ZEPHANIAH HOLWELL.

I John Zephaniah Holwell, one of the Council of Fort William 1756 when Kissendass the son of Raja Bullub received the protection of this Presidency, do solemnly swear that I never did directly or indirectly receive from the said Kissendass, or from any one on his behalf, any the least reward or gratuity, either in money, jewells or merchandize, and that I never did on any other pretence whatsoever benefit myself by the said Kissendass to the amount or value of one rupee.

So help me God.

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APPENDIX V.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

105. *Phirmaund for Bengal, Behar and Orixa, granted by Phuruhshir, translated at the time the Phirmaund was obtained.*[1]

Phirmaund for Bengal, Behar and Orixa. The Titles of the Mogul, &c.

In consideration of a *piscash* of 3,000 Rupees *per annum* payable by the Company at Hughly. That all their mercantile affairs together with their *gomastahs* (factors) have free liberty in all *subahships* to pass and repass to and fro either by land or water in any *port* or *district* throughout the several provinces abovesaid and liberty to buy and sell at their will and pleasure.

If in any place or at any time robberies are committed on their goods they be assisted in the getting of them again. That the robbers be brought to justice and the goods be delivered to the proprietors of them.

In whatsoever place they have a mind to settle a Factory fairly to buy and sell goods in, they have liberty and be assisted.

That on whomsoever merchants, weavers &c. they have any demands on whatsoever account let them be aided and the debtors be brought to come to a true and fair account and be made to give their *gomastahs* (factors) their right and just demands.

That no person be suffered wrongfully and unjustly to injure and molest their *gomastahs* (factors) for customs on hired boats (*cutbarrah*), &c. belonging to them that they be not in any manner molested or obstructed.

They farther petition that if the petty *duans* of *subahships* demand sight of the original *sannods* and *perwannas* under the seals of the *Duans* and

[1] Another translation may be seen in Broome's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, Appendix C. The *Farman* (or *Phirmaund*) was granted by the Emperor Farrukh-siyar in 1717. See also Home Misc., 69, for papers appended to the Surman Diary.

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Subahs, the original *sunnods* cannot possibly be produced in any place without a great deal of difficulty, they desire that a copy from under the seal of the chief *Cauzee* be sufficient; sight of the original *sunnods* not to be demanded nor they forced to take *sunnods* and *perwannahs* under the *Duan* and *Subah's* seals.

That the renting of Calcuttah, Sootanullah and Govindpore in the purgannah of Ameirabad and in Bengal were formerly granted them and bought by consent from the *zemundars* of them and are now in the Company's possession, for possessing of which they yearly pay the sum Rupees 1,195, 6 annas, that thirty-eight towns more amounting to Rupees 8,121, 8 annas adjoining to the aforesaid towns which they hope the renting of may be added and granted to the others they are already possessed of; that they will pay annually the same amount of them. Commanded that the copy under the seal of the chief *Cauzee* be regarded; that the old town formerly bought by them remain in their hands as heretofore, and that they have the renting of the adjacent towns petitioned for, which they are to buy from the respective owners of them, and that the *Duan Subah* give permission.

They still petition that from the reign of Aurengzebe Madrass coin were received into the treasuries of *subahships* for under value and are still, notwithstanding that they are full as valuable as Surat rupees are, whereby they are great losers, they hope the Imperial order may be given for them to be received into the treasury as Surat rupees are in case they are as good.

That [if] any person being servant to the Company elopes from them, from whom debts and accounts are due, they desire that whosoever so deserts to be delivered back to the Chiefs of their Factory.

That their *gomastahs* and servants are molested and troubled for *phousdarry* (*abvab mumnua*) and impositions which they request they may be exempted from.

Commanded and ordered that from the fifth year of this blessed reign if Madrass rupees are made the same goodness as Surat *siccaes* there be no discount on them.

That whosoever of the Company's servants being debtors desert them, seize them and deliver them to the Chief of their Factory.

That they be not molested for *phirmaushs* (*abvab mumnua*) and impositions.

They petition that in Bengal, Behar and Oudeisa (Orixa) the Company have Factories and that in other places they likewise design to settle Factories. They accordingly desire that in any places where

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they have a mind to settle Factories they may have forty *begas* of ground given them for the same.

That it often happens ships at sea meet with tempestuous winds and are forced into ports and are sometimes drove ashore and wrecked, the Governors of ports injuriously seize on the cargoes of them and in some places demand a quarter part salvage.

That on the island of Bombay belonging to the English European *siccaes* are current, they request that, according to the custom of Madrass, they may at Bombay coin *siccaes*.

Commanded and ordered that according to custom of the Factories in other *subahships* executed, these people having their Factories in several parts of the Kingdom and commerce to the place of the royal residence and have obtained very favourable *phirmaunds* custom free. Let there be particular care taken that there be duly assistance given them about goods and wrecks on all occasions.

On the island of Bombay let there be the glorious stamp on the *siccaes* coined there, passing them current as all other *siccaes* are throughout the Empire.

To all these render punctual obedience observing and acting pursuant to the tenor of this gracious *phirmaund* and not contrary in any respect whatsoever nor demand yearly new *sunnods*. Regard this particularly well.

Written the 27th of the Moon Mohurum in the 5th year of this gracious and happy reign.

106. *Cypher used in correspondence with Messrs. Watts and Scrafton at Murshidabad.*[1]

a, 19; b, 15; c, 27; d, 30; e, 20; f, 39; g, 28; h, 18; i, 38; k, 33; l, 16; m, 29; n, 32; o, 23; p, 25; q, 37; r, 34; s, 31; t, 24; u, 35; w, 22; x, 17; y, 26; z, 36; &, 21.

N.B.—Other figures to be intermixed by way of disguise. Where double letters occur, 4 to be inserted instead of the latter letter. Figure 1 may imply a stop where necessary to avoid mistaking the sense.

A, Watts. D, Meer Jaffier.
B, Omichund. E, Muxadavad.
C, The Nabob. F, Cossimbuzar.
G, The French.

[1] Orme, *India*, xiii., 3,717.

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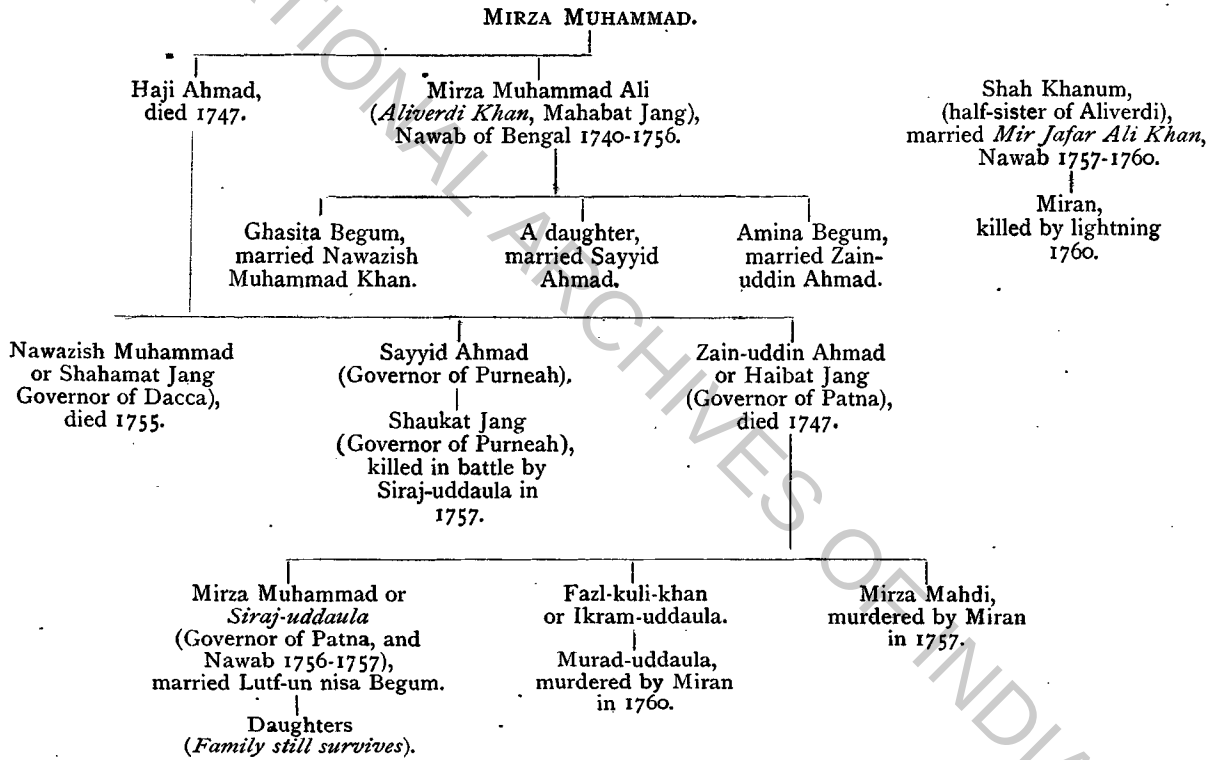
107. *The Family of Siraj-uddaula.*


MIRZA MUHAMMAD.
Haji Ahmad, died 1747.
Mirza Muhammad Ali (*Aliverdi Khan*, Mahabat Jang), Nawab of Bengal 1740-1756.
Shah Khanum, (half-sister of Aliverdi), married *Mir Jafar Ali Khan*, Nawab 1757-1760.
Miran, killed by lightning 1760.
Ghasita Begum, married Nawazish Muhammad Khan.
A daughter, married Sayyid Ahmad.
Amina Begum, married Zain-uddin Ahmad.
Nawazish Muhammad or Shahamat Jang Governor of Dacca), died 1755.
Sayyid Ahmad (Governor of Purneah).
Shaukat Jang (Governor of Purneah), killed in battle by Siraj-uddaula in 1757.
Zain-uddin Ahmad or Haibat Jang (Governor of Patna), died 1747.
Mirza Muhammad or *Siraj-uddaula* (Governor of Patna, and Nawab 1756-1757), married Lutf-un nisa Begum.
Daughters (*Family still survives*).
Fazl-kuli-khan or Ikram-uddaula.
Murad-uddaula, murdered by Miran in 1760.
Mirza Mahdi, murdered by Miran in 1757.

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108. *Extracts from a copy of a letter from Captain Grant, dated* 'Success' *galley,* 13 *July,* 1756, *prepared for Mr. John Debonnaire.*[1]

I will now proceed to inform you as well as possible what our situation was to stand a seige. The plan of Fort William and a part of Calcutta, which I here inclose you, and which since my comming on board I have sketched out from memory to give a clear idea of the manner we were attacked, will represent to you the situation of our small Fort in respect to the houses that surrounded it and the number of guns mounted upon it. Our military to defend it, exclusive of those at the subordinate Factory, amounted only to 180 infantry, of which number there were not 40 Europeans, and 36 men of the Artillery Company, seargeants and corporals included; hardly a gun on the ramports with a carriage fit for service. We had about three years ago 50 pieces of cannon, 18 and 24 pounders, with two mortars, 10 and 13 inches, with a good quantity of shells and balls for each; but they [had] been allowed to lay on the grass, where they were first landed ever since, with out carriages or beds. Only the 10 inche mortars we made shift to get ready by the time we were attacked, but neither shells filled nor fusees prepared for mortars or cohorns, made as well as the rest of little use. Our grape were eat up by the worms, and in short all our amunition of all sorts, such as we had, in the worst order; not a gun with a carriage fit be carried out of the Fort for any use, except the two feild pieces, which was sent us from your Settlement. What powder we had ready, for want of care the greatest part was damp and the season of the year improper to dry it.

It is true, on the receipt of the letters by the *Delawar*, there was orders given to repair the Line of guns before the Fort, and carriages to be made for those 50 pieces of cannon to be mounted upon, and likewise to repair the carriages upon the bastions; but those things were just began when we received intelligence of the loss of Cossimbuzar and contributed little to prepair us for what we expexted. The military Captains were ordered to attend Council to give their advice in regard to what was necessary to be done for the defence of the place, as it was all along proposed to defend the town as well as the Fort. An extensive Line was first formed for that intent. So little notion had the people of any vigorous attack, that it was estemed sufficient to have a battery of one or two guns in each principal road to defend us from any attack of

[1] See note, vol. i., p. 73.

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a black enemy; but the consideration of our small number of troops determined us to contract our batterys to the places marked in the plan. The militia was formed into three companys: one of Europeans to the number of 60 and the other two consisted of Arminians and country Portuguesse to the number of 150, exclusive of those 50 of the Company's servants and young gentlemen of the place entered as volunteers in the military companys and [who] did duty in every respect as common centinals and on every occasion shewed the greatest spirit and resolution. Carpenters and workmen of all sorts were taken into pay to make gun carriages &c., and every thing else ordered to be got in readiness that might be necessary for a seige.

From the 7, when we received the news of Cossimbuzars being lost and the Nabob's intentions to advance to march to Calcutta, to the 16th June was all the time we had to prepare every thing, from the defenceless state we were in to what was necessary for the reception of such a numerous enemy; and such was the Nabob's rapidity that in twelve days from his getting possession of Cossimbuzar he was with us at Calcutta. The 4th, he marched, with a numerous army and a large train of artillery upwards of one hundred miles across rivers and swampy roads to his first attack of Calcutta.

* * * * *

On their advancing their cannon against the Goal, we detached from the battery A an officier, 20 men, and the two field pieces, to reinforce Mr. Le Beaume's fort, who maintained it from 11 to 2 in the afternoon, exposed to a very warm fire from two pieces of cannon and a quantity of musquetry. The enemy having lodged themselves in all the houses that surrounded the place, [and] Monsieur Le Beaume and Ensign Curstains, the officer who was advanced to support him, being both wounded and several of their men killed, they had orders to retire with their two field pieces. The enemy took immediate possession of the place as soon as we abandoned it; as they did off Mr. Dumbletons, Alsops, the Play House and the houses behind the street, Lady Russels; from which places, and every hole they could creep into, under any sort of cover, they keept a very close fire on the battery and houses, whenever they saw any of our men lodged. By firing our cannon on such houses as they could bear upon, we obliged them often to quit them; but fresh supplies came up to relieve them. We must in this manner have destroyed numbers, though all we could do, from the cannon of the batteries and Forts and our small arms from the tops and windows of the different houses we occupied, was of no effect in

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retarding their progress. Had our shells been properly served, they must have been of greater use for this purpose than all our artillery; but such as we tried either burst as they quitted the mortars or before they got half way.

* * * * *

The detachment in the Companys House, on the enemy's approach and their getting possession of Captain Renny's house, thought their situation too dangerous to be maintained on the approach of day, and that their communication was liable to be cut off from the Fort by the lane that leads to the water side by the new *godowns*. [They] therefore applied to the Govenour and obtained leave to retire into the Fort. The withdrawing this post gave general discontent and discouragement, as the enemys getting possession of it would not only expose the southerly bastions and *godowns* to a very warm fire, but likewise the *Gaut*, were the boats lay, to be so flanked that it could be almost impossible to keep any there. And as many people at this time (by the vigorous attack of the enemy, and withdrawing our batteries so very suddenly, and leaving the Company's House to be taken possession of by them in the night, attended with many other circumstances of confusion and disorder which then could not be remedied) began to think that a retreat on board our ships would be the only means by which we could escape the hands of the enemy. Therefore with the utmost concern [we] saw this our only means of safety indangered by our forsaking that post.

We had layed in a sufficient store of provisions, but the irregularity of not appointing proper persons for the management of this as well as other particular duties, a fatal neglect all along, [and] the desertion of our cooks amongst the rest of the black fellows, left us to starve in the midst of plenty. Our out-posts had no refreshments all the proceeding day and there was nothing but constant complaints and murmurings from all quarters for want of water and provisions, and but little prospect for a possibility of supplying them. There was not even people to carry them to the out-posts, had they been ready dressed, as every one in the Fort had been so harrased and fatigued for want of rest by constant duty for two days before that it was impossible to rouse them, even if the enemy had been scaling the walls. Thre different times did the drums beat to arms but in vain, not a man could be got to stand to their arms though we had frequent alarms of the enemy's preparing ladders under our walls to scale them.

We had by this time thousands of Portuguesse women within the

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Fort, which caused the utmost confusion and noise by filling up the passages in all parts, and crouding the back gate to force their way on board the ships. Such was the consternation that prevailed in general at a Council of War that was held at 9 o'clock, [that] the Europeans women were ordered on board the ships, and Colonel Manningham and Lieutenant Colonel Frankland permitted to see them there safe. It was at the same time resolved to clear the Fort of the other women, and if possible to regulate the confusion that then prevailed; but little was put into execution towards it. The men for want of refreshment, rest, and by getting in liquor, become very mutinous and riotous, and being mostly militia within the Fort subject to no command. The same complaints were brought from the out-posts, which could hardly be remedied without supplies of provisions and men to relieve them from their hunger and fatigue bore for several days past.

* * * * *

The French and Dutch have in a manner accommodated matters with him [the Nabob], the first by paying four and the other five *lacks* of rupees. Though each of their Settlements are now crowded with Moors, and no business can be carried on without particular *perwannas* for that purpose, so that it is supposed he has not done with them yet. Messrs. Watts and Collet are prisoners at large now at the French Factory, who have orders to send them to the Coast by their first ships. The rest of the Gentlemen belonging to the Cossinbuzar Factory, by the last account we had, were prisoners at Muschadabad and in irons. The Decca Factory are safe with the French at that place. Both the Luckepoor and Ballasore Factorys got off and are now with us. We know to have been killed during the siege and dead in the Black Hole, 30 Company Servants and 15 officers. Minchin, Keen, Muir and myself, being all that now remains of Calcutta Settlements, are now heare on board six ships and some sloops.

Messrs. Drake [the Governour], Maningham, Frankland and Macket, with Amyat and Badham whome they lately joined, form a Council and order that they think necessary for the Company's advantage. The Nabob seems satisfied with what he has already done and I fancy is very well pleased to see us leave his dominions. Mr. Drake seems inclinable to maintain some footing in the country, especially till advices from the Coast. After the receipt of this news, in consequence of our letters to you on the taking of Cossinbuzar and the Nabob's intentions to march to Calcutta, we are in expectations, in case French war don't prevent it, of a strong reinforcement to arrive in the river about the 18th of August; but I'm afraid such numbers as you will think neces-

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sary to send to reinforce the garrison of Fort William, not expecting it to be taken, will be too few to establish a footing in the country now it is lost. For which reason I wish our Governour and Council had thought proper to dispatch one of their sloops to advise you sooner; as it might arrive before the embarkation of such troops, and enable you to send such a force as would not only re-establish Calcutta, but march in our turn to the Nabob's Capital at Muschadabad; which I think might be done, notwithstanding the loss of Calcutta, with 1,000 or 1,500 regular troops and proper field artillery. The conveniency of the river that runs through the heart of the Country, and a most healthy climate from October to March or April, would afford us every opportunity we could desire. The resolution our enemy have shewn behind the walls and houses would all vanish in an instant in the open field, and I am sure they are worce troops than any you have. I need not tell you what hand they would make against artillery well served. It was first intended to send Mr. Mapletot and myself with these advices, but they have altered their minds.

I could wish that if any thing was to be done for the resettlement of a place of such consequence to the trade of India, that I had an opportunity personally to communicate my opinion, as my residence so long at Cossinbuzar in the neighbourhood of the Court gave me some opportunity to know the state of the country and nature of the people better than I could have done else were. In case of no supplies to enable us to resettle, I suppose we shall be able to sail out of the river about the 20 of August for your Settlement. What shall become of us afterwards God knows, most having made their escape, men and women, only with their cloaths on their back, which I believe is all our fortunes, except such as had resques at sea. I hope you will pardon what may appear tedious in this narrative, and believe me with great respect,

Sir, yours &c., ALEXANDER GRANT.

109. *Causes of the loss of Calcutta by David Rannie, dated August, 1756.*[1]

The narrative of the methods by which Calcutta was taken will I believe be transmitted pretty faithfully, I will therefore confine myself to the causes of the war and the Moors' success.

The causes of the war were principally three *viz.* our acting unjustifyably by the Moors, our being tricked out of Cassimbuzar Fort, and

[1] The Orme MSS. contain two copies of this paper: O.V. 19, pp. 147-161, and India IV., pp. 863-874. In the latter it is styled "Reflections on the loss of Calcutta, June, 1756, by Captain David Rannie, Mariner."

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the example shewn on the Coast of Cormondel, where the English and French have in a great measure, it is said, divided the country, while their respective Nabobs are no better than shadows of what they should be.

The injustice to the Moors consists in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants, and to trade custom free, we under that pretence protected all the Nabob's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our *dustucks* or passes to numbers of natives to trade custom free, to the great prejudice of the Nabob's revenue, nay more we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom free, and by numbers of their impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenue) some of which were ruinous to ourselves, such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land property &c. caused eternal clamor and complaints against us at Court.

These three Articles I am afraid are strictly true, the first (and more especially) the last, were caused by the East India Company who have been so urgent of late to increase their revenues that they have approved of methods for that purpose that were most unjust as well as impolitick, and what all discerning men saw would very soon render the place (what Monsieur Duplex threatened to do) a fishing town; the second Article proceeded from the Company's servants, and had crept in and been tolerated for a long course of time, but Mr. Drake had really stopt the greatest part of this illicit trade, and though not wholly yet more than had been ever done before.

The second cause of the war was the Moors getting Cassimbuzar without ever firing a musket; how that happened you'll hear from others, I shall therefore only observe that by this he got 64 fine guns, and 6 field pieces, 55 barrels of fine powder, a great number of shot, arms &c., which both inspired them with courage to attack the head Settlement and furnished them with the means, for their own artillery was old and bad, their carriages worse, no people that knew how to make good ones, and not much arms and ammunition.

The third and what is said to be the principal cause of the war, is the knowledge of what has happened on the Coast of Cormondel, for many Moors (and some of distinction among them) have come lately from thence and declared that the English and French have divided &c., as above, that the Nabob of Pronea[1] being a kinsman and rival for the Province of Bengal to the present Nabob of Muxedabad,

[1] Purneah.

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nothing could secure him but disarming the Europeans, at least the English and French. The Moors that have come down with the Nabob have since the loss of the place declared the same, and all his proceedings confirm it, for he began with writing a threatening letter to both nations with orders to demolish what he called fortifications; his demand when he got Mr. Watts was for the guns, arms, ammunition in Cassimbuzar Fort without mentioning money, the demand sent to Calcutta after the loss of Cassimbuzar was for the same and 15 *lack* of rupees added to it by his Ministers: and to prevent our being assisted from Madrass, where he knew the English strength at present lies, he proceeded with a rapidity unknown before to these people, for he got Cassimbuzar Fort June 4th and attacked Calcutta twelve days afterwards, though he had near a 100 miles to come, a great river and some small ones to cross with a train of artillery (some of them 18 pounders) and all the cumbrous attendants of an Eastern army.

So much for the causes of the war; I will now shew how they came so well to succeed; only let me observe that after taking Calcutta, he went immediately against the Dutch and French, who being resolved at all events to make up matters permitted them to sit down close to their Fort walls and gates (only standing to their arms to prevent scaling) and after suffering many indignities and abuses, by bribing all round the Nabob's venal Ministers got him to make up matters without disarming, the Dutch for five and the French for three and half *lack* of rupees, therefore many people now think that we might have done the same, and prevented the immense loss that happened; whether we could, or not, I cannot (nor believe any one else) say with certainty; this much however is certain, that it is against the Company's positive and repeated orders to pay anything, and that if it was practicable the sum must have been large, for we were much greater offenders (by trading Custom free), a much greater eyesore than either the Dutch or French.

The causes of the Moors' success were principally four (besides the encouragement, arms and ammunition they got at Cassimbuzar *viz.* want of military men, military stores, a weak Fort, a Church and many houses so near as in a great measure to command the Fort.

In regard to military men near four years ago 200 or 300 were sent to Madrass, which in a great measure exhausted the garrison, and except eight or ten that came with Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, and three or four wounded men, none have been sent back, nor have any supplies come from England (all those intended for this place being for several years

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stopt at Madrass) so that when Calcutta was attacked each of our five companys of soldiers had only five to seven Europeans, in all thirty-five, and the Train about as many *viz.* in all seventy European soldiers, besides their officers, the others being all black Portugueze, and how farr they can be depended upon (having never seen service) everyone knows; the four subordinate Factories of Cassimbuzar, Dacca, Jugdea, or Luckypore and Ballasore had in all 80 or 90 Europeans more; what then could be expected from so small a military force as 70 men in Calcutta and a few inexperienced inhabitants?

Calcutta was as deficient of military stores as of soldiers, for when Cassimbuzar was taken we had no good gun carriages; however some European carpenters supplied that defect before guns were wanted, but then we had at most only 700 *maund* (or 470 hundred weight) of gunpowder which for to defend four outposts, and endure a siege, was nothing, nay upon inspection one-third of the whole powder was found unfit for service, being entirely dust. There was neither small arms nor cartouch boxes enough, for the Militia, including the European inhabitants, Portuguese, Armenians &c. were only between 500 or 600 men, though there was a pretty good store of mortars, cohorns and shells, yet there was few filled, neither fuzes nor powder sufficient to fill more, and those that were full, had been so long so that out of thirteen small shells thrown into Tanny Fort, eleven never burst, but some flew out at the hole like a false fire, or, like what it was, moist powder. To crown the whole our master gunner Captain Withrington, though lately very diligent, was however void of judgment, method, or even the common regularity that is used in the service.

The Fort of Calcutta stood near north and south parallel to the bank of the river, differing from a long square or paralelgram by having the north end not quite so wide as the south end. The curtain towards the land (or the east curtain) had six or eight windows through it, and each corner was a small bastion that flanked the curtains with two guns, and fronted three each way. Three strong upper room brick houses, and the Church all inclosed with a brick wall stood within pistol-shot of the Fort. These were Mr. Cruttenden's at the north end; the Company's House at the south end; about the middle of the east curtain stood the Church and Mr. Eyre's house close to the north-east bastion. These houses filled with musquetry rendered it impossible to keep upon the bastions, neither was there time after taking Cassimbuzar nor powder to spare to blow them up and level them, though had even that been done the Fort would have been scarcely defensible for the following

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reason. About fifteen years ago the Company being in want of warehouses, Governor Braddyll built a very large one against the south end of the Fort; it was nearly square for it extended from the south-east to the south-west bastion and projected 60 or 80 feet beyond them; by these means these two bastions were rendered of very little use for defending the south end of the Fort, for the curtain between them was now become the inner wall of a warehouse, and a large passage broke through it into the Fort by way of a door to this new warehouse. The outer or south wall of this warehouse, being now in place of the curtain was not stronger than a common house wall, it was also full of very large windows, and by projecting beyond the bastions could not be flanked by their guns. It is true there was a terrace and a parapet with embrazures upon this warehouse, but the terrace would only bear a two pounder, and the parapet was only three feet high; how easy then was it for guns and musquetry from all the houses and the space from the Town Hall to the Burying Ground, (that is from east to south) to drive men from this terrace? And there was nothing after this to prevent them from scaling the warehouse wall, which was equal in height to the curtain and joined both to it and the bastions.

There were some other defects in the Fort but these mentioned are sufficient to shew its weakness. I have now shewn the causes of the war, and the reasons of the Moors success; many others you'll perhaps hear alledged, but rest satisfied these are the principal ones. Many things will be found fault with, and many people blamed for particular facts, probably with more acrimony than the thing deserves. You must in this case consider that many men's spirits are so sharpened by losses and blinded with passion that, right or wrong, they will rail and find fault; however you may believe me who am quite indifferent to them all (and though I am indebted for many civilities yet I have received no acts of friendship from any of our gentlemen in station, but rather the contrary) I say you may believe me that, to the best of my judgment, had every one done his duty the place could not have been saved without they had had more soldiers, and had begun some months before to beat down these warehouses, the Church and great houses near the Fort, dug a ditch round it and made a glacé, provided a quantity of powder, filled the shells &c. (though 'tis observable that by the Company's books it appears they scarce ever had so large a quantity of powder before).

The Company wrote out by the *Delawar*, and last year, to put the place in a better state of defence, but they were not in cash for such

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works (and there was not 50,000 rupees in the Treasure when taken); private instructions likewise I believe restrained them in the article of expence; there was no proper engineer, and though money if wanted could be borrowed, yet that is what our Company are extremely averse to.

Think not by what is said that I want to insinuate all are blameless, very far from it, I think the East India Company are greatly to blame for provoking the Moors by such unjust methods of increasing their revenues, and (as when Madrass was lost) for not having a better garrison, and either another Fort or the old one cleared of the grand houses, which they well knew stood close to it, and made otherwise strong by a ditch, glacé, some out-works &c. The Governor and whole Council are blamed by some for not making up matters at any rate with money, as the place was so defenceless, but they have much to say in their own behalfs, first giving money is against the repeated strongest orders that can be wrote by the Company.

The Moors constantly declared disarming a principal condition of peace, and that could not be complied with. Several letters were sent and no answers returned, the enemy came on so swiftly that very little time was left for treating, and therefore that the possibility of making peace with money is a mere suggestion *ex post facta*, and lastly that they knew not the place was so weak and deficient of stores, for being merchants they knew not the consequences of having the Fort surrounded with strong high houses, nor whether 700 or 7,000 *maunds* of powder was necessary. How they came to be so ignorant of these things, must therefore fall principally upon the Captain of the Train &c. who ought to make the reports.

The Governor is blamed for coming away singly, and not making a regular retreat with the garrison; to justify which it is urged, that the Portuguese soldiers &c. having insisted two days before upon having their wives admitted into the Fort, had under that pretence brought in above 3,000 women and children, that as the shot and fire arrows began to fly over the Fort many boats left it, and what few remained were very insufficient to carry all off, more especially as the black soldiers being inflamed with liquor insisted on their families being carried off first, besides the ships would not have contained the whole, so that it was really impracticable. The militia officers Messrs. Manningham, Frankland, Holmes, Somner &c. had left him the night before and gone on board the *Dadley*, who was falling down the river, when he left the Fort openly, and scarce any boats remaining, that there was not above

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two days' powder left, and that a Council of War had at midnight agreed to abandon the Fort, so that he only complied with their resolves, and that if a regular retreat could be made, it certainly belonged to the officers to conduct it. In short Mr. Drake behaved better than I expected, for he never shewed the least apprehension untill he saw Mr. Manningham &c. had left him, the Fort destitute of powder, the ships leaving him, and scarce any boats left, when surely self-preservation required his doing as he did. Mr. Manningham alledges an order of a Council of War for seeing the women on board in the evening. Mr. Drake denies any such order and says that Mr. Manningham and Frankland asked his liberty (not when in Council) to see the women off, and had it, but that implied no more than to see they had boats, or if they did go on board they ought to have returned immediately, that on the contrary they did not go off with any ladies, and when he sent Captain Wedderbourn at 10 o'clock at night requesting they would come and assist at a Council of War, they refused coming, alledging fifteen or twenty men should have been sent to take care of the women, which certainly was a frivolous excuse, for the Moors' horse could not attack a ship well upon the river with guns and men sufficient to fight her on board, and falling down next day sufficiently shewed they had no intention to return. Captain Wedderbourn however honestly returned with his answer, and let it be mentioned for Mr. Mackett's honor that having seen his lady on board the same ship *Dadley* (who had miscarried the preceding day) he contrary to her earnest entreaties returned to his duty as Councellor and militia Captain. At the same time our Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel quitted their posts where duty and honour required their attendance to guard some women on board a ship well armed and manned.

I would now mention what the Company and Inhabitants have lost in particular and the British nation in general by this melancholy affair, but it is impossible, for though the present loss is immense, yet it will be still more in the consequences if not immediately resettled. The cargoes now expected from England will remain unsold, the ships remain at a great expense of demurrage, the same will be repeated next season. The articles of saltpetre and raw silk which we cannot well be without must now be bought at a high price from the Dutch, French, Prussians and Danes, so must Dacca muslins, or if they have not money enough to invest, we shall be obliged in England to buy French cambricks, lawns &c. Nay what fine goods they bring home will most probably be run into England to the great loss of the revenue.

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The different parts of India will also severely feel the loss of Calcutta, for if I am not mistaken the Coast of Cormondel and Malabar, the Gulph of Persia and Red Sea, nay even Manilla, China and coast of Affrica were obliged to Bengal for taking off their cotton, pepper, drugs, fruits, *chauk*, *cowrees*, tin, toothenague &c. as on the other hand they were supplied from Bengal with what they could not well be without, such as raw silk and its various manufactures, ophium, vast quantities of cotton cloth, rice, ginger, turmerick, long pepper &c. and all sorts of gruff goods.

This is the rough draught of the ruinous consequences that must attend the loss of Calcutta (if not established again quickly), nor will I be more particular because you have a gentleman at Madrass (I mean Mr. Orme) who can demonstrate these consequences, both with regard to Europe and India, as well as anybody I know either on that quarter of the world or this, only let me observe that if anybody thinks that a trade can be carried on here by paying the Moors Customs &c. they will find themselves greatly mistaken, for not only the English merchants at Calcutta are ruined but all the *aurungs* are involved in the same fate; in short the Nabob is young, passionate, ignorant and regardless of his country's interest. Faithless to a great degree (therefore none dare venture large sums up the country to provide goods) and fearful of Europeans, therefore desirous to govern by his military, the consequence of which will be a great decrease of inhabitants, no merchants, a scarcity and therefore a dearness of all goods); in short, like the Mallabar Coast from Telicherry northward, there will scarcely be any body in the country but *peons*, planters of *paddy*, and begging *Bramins* and *facquires*. The French and Dutch are sensible of this and will soon either quit their Settlements or force themselves into a less depending state.

I would now say something about resettling the place, but am not equal to it; let me however take notice of a few particulars. First I am well satisfied that if I could see three or four men of war with Collonel Laurence (or such another good officer), a moderate number of land forces, and a proper Train with ammunition, and a few thousand good *peons* be sent here, Calcutta might be resettled upon much better terms than ever it was, the whole loss both publick and private repaid, also the expense of the expedition and ample retribution to the officers and troops. All this before the latter ships sail for England, nay probably they might get their lading. My reasons for this assertion are these:— the country is one immense plain, and above Culpee full of villages,

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grass, rice, cattle, &c. This plain is intersected with a large river and several smaller creeks all abounding with boats of various sizes, which affords an easy water carriage to within seven leagues of the capital of the province of Muxedabad, at I believe all times of the year, but till the middle of October boats can be tracked quite up to Muxedabad. The country is not woody, more especially towards Cassimbuzar, for though in some places there is a great many trees near the river yet these groves are not broad neither thick, and easily avoided. The men of war could take Tanna Fort and Calcutta in one tide, next day Hughley. There and at Calcutta the boats &c. might be prepared for going to Muxedabad, and in regard to the Moors' forces I am certain they are much worse than those on the Coast, and though they got a bad Fort with no garrison by possessing houses all round it as strong as the Fort itself, yet they never will face Europeans in the field with a well-served train of artillery.

Some people speak of subjecting the whole Kingdom; I agree it would be easily done, but scarce possible to be kept, because it would require a great force to garrison so extensive a country, because the European nations would retain their Factorys, set up competitors and assist them, and by bringing on a war ruin the country; nor would it be permitted in Europe, for the French, Dutch, Prussians, Danes and Portuguese, must all for their own interest oppose it; and if there has been such a struggle for your Coast, what must there be for Bengal, which alone takes off in value and sends to Europe twice as much goods as all India does (except China)?[1] Whereas to resettle the Colony and recover damages, no more is wanted than what is above mentioned, and giving strong assurances to the French and Dutch in writing that nothing to their detriment &c. is intended. I will not mention the interest that Madrass has in the welfare of Bengal, because I hope your gentlemen,[2] inspired with nobler motives, will quickly set about establishing a Colony of such immense value to Great Britain, seriously considering that as nothing will tend more to their honor, and indeed interest, than doing it, so nothing will fix a more indelible reproach than their neglecting it, except it is proved not to be in their power, which will be difficult to do, if there is not a French invasion, for the

[1] At this time China was included in the general term 'East Indies.'

[2] From this it would appear that this letter was addressed to some person stationed at Madras. It cannot be Mr. Orme, who is referred to in it, and it is not contained in the Consultations of the Council of Fort St. George. Possibly it was delivered to Admiral Watson, as he appends it to one of his reports to the Admiralty.

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men of war cannot well remain on the Coast after September, and both them and the military can return from hence sooner than from any other place, at least as soon as it is safe to anchor on the Coast.

110. *Queries from Mr. R. Orme to Mr. Cooke on the siege of Calcutta, June, 1756, and Mr. Cooke's answers, January, 1762.*

Mr. Orme presents his compliments to Mr. Cooke. Does Mr. Cooke know at what time Coja Wazeed was commissioned by the Governor and Council to offer a large sum to the Nabob for peace? Was it before we spiked up the guns at Tannah, which was on the 12th of June?

It was two or three days before that circumstance happened; but observe Coja Wazeed was not absolutely commissioned to offer a particular sum, but to accommodate the matter on the best terms he could for us, and to give a sum of money rather than suffer things to be carried to any extremity.

Mr. Orme forgot to ask how many and what vessels, whether ships or sloops were sent on the expedition to Tanna's Fort on the 12th of June?

Only the *Doddalay* and a ketch grab of twelve or fourteen guns the first time, and those two with the *Prince George*, Captain Hague, the second attempt.

Were the Armenians incorporated into the militia of Calcutta, and if so what were their number?

The Armenians were incorporated into the militia, and their numbers I think amounted to between fifty and sixty; many being at that time at the *aurungs* providing their investments for the Gulph.

What was the total of the number of the militia? (*No answer.*)

How many ships, brigantines and sloops were manned and in the stream, and received the inhabitants in their flight to Fulta exclusive of the *Prince George?*

The *Doddalay*. The ketch grab above mentioned—Mr. Holwell's brigantine—*Neptune* snow—the *Fame*—and about a dozen *Paria* sloops—two Company's pilot sloops.

How many guns did each of the bastions of Calcutta mount, what was their calibre? The same of the *godowns* to the south?

The bastions mounted ten guns each to the land side, and eight to the river side, nine and twelve pounders. Those on the *godowns* to the south were only two and three pounders about ten or twelve.

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How many guns and of what calibre were on each of the batteries, that by the Jail, that to the north, and that to the south?

Each of the batteries had two pieces of cannon mounted. That to the north only twelve pounders, the other two had eighteen pounders.

It appears that the Jail was taken possession of by some of our musquetry before the enemy attacked that battery. Was the same precaution used in the houses which commanded the battery to the north and that to the south?

The Jail was taken possession of by a party of *bucksarries* and two or three Europeans under the command of Monsieur La Beaume. The houses which commanded the other batteries were occupied by our people till the orders were sent for withdrawing those posts on the 18th of June.

Mr. Orme has forgot the exact spot in which the battery to the north was erected?

It was thrown up directly across the street that ran by Mr. Jackson's and that row of houses to the Seats' dwelling &c.; and erected between the salt petre *godown* and Mr. Griffiths' house, so as to take in both those buildings into the lines.

Does Mr. Cooke know the quantity of powder in the Fort when the Moors began to attack Calcutta. Mr. Orme has heard 800 *maunds?*

To the best of his remembrance between 700 and 800 *maunds;* but a great deal of it not fit for use.

III. *Mr. Cooke concerning the Nabob's* hircarrah, *who was said to be ill-treated by Mr. Drake, and substance of Mr. Drake's letter to the Nabob on the fortifications of Calcutta, June,* 1756.

Mr. Cooke's compliments to Mr. Orme, and shall think it no trouble to give him any lights or information in his power concerning the siege of Calcutta. He is sorry he could not see Mr. Orme when he did him the favour of calling on him, but has been laid up with a fever these three days proceeding from a violent cold, which prevented his sending an immediate answer to Mr. Orme's queries.

I have omitted in my narrative the particular dates of those occurrences, which I am now sorry for; but I am pretty sure the arrival of the *hircarrah* must have been between the 20th and 30th of April,

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because he was sent immediately after affairs were accommodated with the widow of Nawajis Cahawn, which was not entirely finished and her troops disbanded till about the 20th of April. I think you may fix his coming into Calcutta about the 26th or 27th of that month; it happened on a Sunday and he was turned out the next day.

The Nabob's letter directing us to demolish our fortifications did not reach Calcutta till the 10th or 12th of May and was I believe answered without loss of time, but I do not think (I speak my own sentiments only) that the answer Mr. Drake laid before the Board was that which he first dispatched by the hands of the Nabob's *chubdar*, as he did not make it public till the 19th or 20th of May, at which time we were by reports and letters informed of the Nabob's being extremely disgusted at the answer he received. The letter Mr. Drake delivered me to be read at the Board and entered on the Consultations was written on Saturday and published on Monday about the date above mentioned. Could I see Mr. Holwell he might remember perhaps more particularly the time of the *hircarrah's* arrival, as Omichund carried him to Mr. Holwell directly on his landing. The answer which Mr. Drake laid before the Board, and the only one he made publick, was to this effect:—

That the Nabob had been misinformed in regard to our building a wall round the town (which the *Subah* had mentioned particularly in his letter to the President) and that we had dug no ditch round the town since the invasion of the Marattoes (another circumstance mentioned in Surajah Dowla's letter) at which time the English had executed such a work with the knowledge and approbation of his grandfather Allyverdecawn. That in the late war between our nation and the French, they had attacked and taken the Company's Settlement of Madras on the Coromandel Coast in open violation of the neutrality we expected would have been observed in the *Mogul's* dominions. And as there were great appearances of another war between the French and us, we could not rely on any observance on their part of a neutrality in Bengal in case they found themselves strong enough to attack us, for which reason we were repairing our former fortifications and putting our Factory in the best posture of defence we could, agreable to the orders from England, which we could not desist from doing consistent to our own safety.

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112. *Extract from an account of such sums as have been proved or acknowledged before the Committee to have been distributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal from the year* 1757 *to the year* 1766, *both inclusive, distinguishing the principal times of the said distributions and specifying the sums received by each person respectively.*[1]

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier in 1757.

	Rs.	Rs.	£
Mr. Drake (Governor) ...		280,000	31,500
Colonel Clive as Second in the Select Committee ...	2,80,000		
Ditto as Commander-in-Chief	2,00,000		
[2]Ditto as a private donation	16,00,000		
		20,80,000	234,000
Mr. Watts as a member of the Committee ...	240,000		
Ditto as a private donation	800,000		
		1040,000	117,000
Major Kilpatrick		240,000	27,000
Ditto as a private donation		300,000	33,750
Mr. Maningham		240,000	27,000
Mr. Becher		240,000	27,000
Six members of Council one *lack* each...		600,000	68,200
Mr. Walsh		500,000	56,250
Mr. Scrafton		200,000	22,500
Mr. Lushington		50,000	5,625
Captain Grant		100,000	11,250
Stipulation to the navy and army ...			600,000
			1,261,075
Memorandum, the sum of two *lacks* to Lord Clive, as Commander-in-Chief, must be deducted from this account, it being included in the donation to the army			22,500
			1,238,575

Lord Clive's Jaghire was likewise obtained at this period.

[1] Extract from Third Report of Select Committee, 1773, p. 311.

[2] It appears, by the extract in Appendix, No. 102, from the evidence given on th trial of Ram Charan, before the Governor and Council in 1761, by Rai Durlabh,

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113. *Concerning Mr. Watts's flight from Muxadavad, June, 1757.*[1]

June, 1757.	*Mr. Collet's Answers.*
1. Mr. Watts paid a visit to Meer Jaffeir and swore him to the treaties June the 5th.	1. Mr. Watts did go to Meer Jaffeir in a covered *dooley* and swore him to the treaties, the day I know not.
2. Mr. Watts under pretence that his health required change of air and exercise, retired with the Nabob's knowledge and permission from his house in the city. (This happened either on the 6th the 7th or 8th of the month I don't know which.)	2. Mr. Watts came to visit us at Moidapoor with the Nabob's permission; it was the day we escaped, the 13th I believe.
3. He went to reside at Maudipoor. (*Quære.* Did he not go first to the Factory at Cossimbuzar? How long did he stay there? Did he take the gentlemen of the Factory with him to Maudipoor? or did they come to him there after it was determined to make the escape?)	3. Mr. Watts came from Muxadabad to Moidapoor on a visit to us, where we had resided some days, on purpose to facilitate our escape. I don't know if Mr. Watts was at the Factory, or not, before he came to us, but he never resided at Moidapoor at all.
4. When Mr. Watts left the city all the valuable effects and treasure had been despatched by different opportunities from the Factory at Cossimbuzar to Calcutta. There remained guns and such like things. (Is this true?)	4. The treasure and most valuable effects had been sent off some time to Calcutta by different opportunities, both the Company's and private people's. Some stores and furniture remained with a quantity of raw silk and *putney*, which was winding off when we escaped.

who had the principal management in the distribution of the treasures of the deceased Nawab Siraj-uddaula upon the accession of Jafar Ali Khan, that Rai Durlabh then received as a present from Colonel Clive 1 *lack*, 25,000 rupees, being 5 *per cent.* on 25 *lack*. It does not appear that this evidence was taken on oath.

[1] Letter from R. O. to Mr. Collett, dated 'Harley Street, Cavendish Square, April 25, 1767,' and reply by Mr. Collet in letter dated 'May 4, 1767. Updown.'

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5. There likewise remained at that time in the Factory all the garrison, about forty men of different sorts; these Mr. Watts sent away in the night, before he himself and the gentlemen went away.

(How did the soldiers go away, in boats or on foot? with or without their arms? in a body, or in different parcels? All the same day or at different days? In the day or the night? openly or privately? At what place down the river were they ordered to rendezvous?)

5. I cannot recollect how the garrison got away.

6. At the time Mr. Watts left the city, there was but one horse in the Factory, the old Toorkey horse belonging to Mr. Watts.

(Is this true?)

6. There might be but one horse at the Factory, as we had our horses with us at Moidapoor, and I believe it was the old Toorkey horse, he not being thought fit for the purpose.

7. The persons who were to make the escape were Mr. Watts, Mr. Collet, two more of the Company's servants, Meirzashabuzebeg the Tartar.

(Were there any other persons who accompanied Mr. Watts in his flight? who were they? was there any military officer in the Factory? what was his name and what became of him? What were the names of the other two Company's servants who made their escape with Watts?)

7. I am ashamed to say I cannot recollect the gentlemen for certain who were with us, but I think Mr. Batson and Mr. Hastings were of the party but won't be positive. Mr. Watts, myself, Mr. Russell, surgeon, and the *Mogull* or Tartar, I am certain of.

8. There being only one horse in the Factory, Meerzashabuzebeg went into the city and bought horses to mount the whole Com-

8. The *Mogul* did purchase a horse or two some days before we went off, as there was not horses to mount us all; these horses were

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pany and himself, who were to make their escape.

(How many horses did Meirzashabuzebeg buy? what day did he buy them? all at once or at different times? where were the horses brought to? to Cossimbuzar, or to Maudipoor?)

9. On the 11th June Meir Jaffeir sent a message to Mr. Watts desiring him to get away out of the Nabob's power, as fast as possible.

(This appears by a letter from Mr. Watts to Colonel Clive.)

(How long did you stay after Mr. Watts received this message from Meer Jaffeir? Was it the evening of the 11th or the 12th or the 13th that you set out?)

(If you did not set out on the 11th immediately after receiving the message, what was the occasion of the delay?)

10. Mr. Watts on the day that he determined to take flight, invited the gentlemen of the Dutch Factory at Cossimbuzar to come and sup with him that evening, and ordered his servants to prepare a good supper.

(Were the Dutch invited to supper at the Factory at Cossimbuzar, or were they invited to come to Maudipoor?)

11. In the afternoon Mr. Watts with the rest of the gentlemen and Meirzashabuzebeg mounted their horses and took some greyhounds used occasionally, sometimes in town and sometimes at Moidapoor some days before we escaped.

9. I believe Mr. Watts did receive a message from Meer Jaffeir to that purpose, and I think it was a day or two before our escape; the reason of our not going directly was we were willing to receive orders from the Governor and Council of Calcutta, and stayed for such orders as long as we could with safety to our lives; we met the orders in our way to the boats by a pair of *cossids*.

10. I don't know that Mr. Watts invited the Dutch anywhere, and as he was only a visitor to us, I believe he did not. He came to dine with us at Moidapoor, and after dinner I ordered all the cook-room furniture &c. to Cossimbuzar, and told the servants to get supper ready there for us. We also sent our beds to town the same time.

11. True in every respect.

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with them, pretending that they were going a coursing on the plain.

(At what o'clock did they mount, and on what day of the month?)

(Did not they mount at Maudipoor?)

(Where did they get the greyhounds?)

I can't say exactly what hour, I believe about 5 o'clock.

We mounted at Moidapoor.

Most gentlemen keep greyhounds and generally carry them with them into the country.

(Had the gentlemen ever been out a coursing with the dogs before this time?)

We often went a coursing, almost daily.

12. Mr. Watts told the servants of the house that he with the gentlemen should come back to receive the Dutch gentlemen at supper.

12. We told the servants we should sup and sleep at Cossimbuzar and I gave orders for supper. I know nothing about the Dutch.

13. Then the party of escapers rode gently to the southward until they were got about six miles to the south of Maudipoor.

13. True.

14. When they ordered the *sizes* or horsekeepers with the dogkeepers to return home directly with the dogs, saying that they (the gentlemen) would take a small circuit on the plain in their way home.

14. True except that the *sizes* kept up with us, at least some of them.

15. As soon as the horse-keepers and dogkeepers were out of sight the gentlemen put on their horses to a smart gallop, and, in order to avoid the meeting of passengers, struck inland into the island, until they got near the *jungles*, when they continued riding to the southward until they thought themselves opposite to the place on the

15. True.

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bank of the river, where they expected to find boats to receive them, which Mr. Watts had before desired Colonel Clive to send to that place.

(Mr. Collet will please to observe that all that I have written from No. 12 to these words 'to that place' is furnished by my own memory from what, to the best of my recollection, Mr. Sykes told me before he left England. So that all this is entirely submitted to the correction of Mr. Collet. I cannot remember the place where Mr. Watts expected to meet the boats.)

16. When opposite to the place where they expected to meet the boats, turned and rode towards the river and at the entrance of a village came amongst a party of the Nabob's horse picketed to the ground on each side of the road; but luckily all the Nabob's horsemen were asleep and the gentlemen rode through them without waking them, or being discovered.

16. True.

(This I had from Mr. Sykes. Is it true?)

(Where was the village where the horses were picketed? was it not the village on the bank of the river, where Mr. Watts expected to find the boats. What was the name of the village?)

The name of the village is Augadiep, where the Nabob's horse were, and there or thereabouts we did find the boats.

17. Having passed this village they came to the bank of the river, where to their great mortifi-

17. I don't remember there was any difficulty in finding the boats; it might be 11 or 12 o'clock at

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cation they found no boats. It was 11 o'clock at night.

(This I had from Mr. Sykes. Is it right?

(Is 11 o'clock right? What was the hour as near as Mr. Collet can recollect?)

18. Being disappointed of the boats they rode on the bank of the river until they discovered a fishing boat into which the gentlemen got, and held their horses in their hands at the stern, and made the fisherman row them over.

(This I had from Mr. Sykes.

(How far did they ride from the place where they expected to find the boats to the place where they found the fisherman's boat?

(Was this boat there by chance or was it a boat sent by Colonel Clive?

(Was the boat, when they discovered it rowing in the stream, or was it aground on the bank of the river?

(If in the stream, and a strange boat, how did they prevail on the man to come ashore to them?)

After they got over the river I do not know a single circumstance of their journey, excepting, that

19. All the gentlemen arrived and joined the army at Culnah about 3 in the afternoon on the 14th day of June, which particular I find by Captain Coote's Journal, and I am told that they arrived in boats.

20. At the same time arrived 30

night, Augadiep is reckoned 18 *coss* from Cossimbuzar.

18. When we got into the boats our *sizes* took our horses, for most of them had kept with us, and they accompanied by the *Mogul* carried our horses safe to Calcutta by land. I believe some of the horses went back with the army.

I take it the boats we got into were the very identical boats we expected; they were two small *ponsoys*, just held us, and were lying with their heads ashore; there was no threatening, or persuading, or squabbling, about the boats, for we crept in like mice, put off directly, and rowed down the river to the point of land, where the Kisnagur and Cossimbuzar rivers meet, opposite the town of Nuddea.)

19. True.

20. I am sorry I can't recollect

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soldiers of the garrison of Cossimbuzar.

(But whether the soldiers arrived in boats or on foot I cannot find; can Mr. Collet tell me?)

21. On the same day likewise arrived Coja Petrus with a man sent by Meer Jaffier to Colonel Clive.

(Does Mr. Collet know when Petrus and this man left the City? whether they did not come all the way from Muxadavad in a boat.)

The narrative of this escape of Mr. Watts and the rest of the gentlemen appears to me so concise; that I am solicitous to collect all the particulars of it with as much precision as possible. I shall therefore proceed to make some farther questions concerning what happened after the gentlemen got on the other side of the river, and I will endeavour to make these questions assistant to Mr. Collet's recollection of the circumstances and incidents.

(Where did they land after they crossed the river?

(Did they stop to take repose or refreshment after they had crossed the river, or did they pursue their journey until the morning?

(Whereabouts were they at break of day in the morning?

(Did they meet with any alarm or interruption after they crossed the river until the morning broke? how the soldiers [escaped] and when they were sent away.

21. Coja Petrus might arrive. I know nothing about it.

We did not cross the river, we rowed directly to the spot I mentioned above, which is the same side the river as Augadiep, where there was a small party of soldiers and boats sent to meet us, and where we took some refreshment.

I can't say exactly where we were in the morning at daybreak.

We met with no alarm or interruption all the way.

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(At what place and at what time and on what day, did they meet with the boat or boats in which they proceeded to Culnah?

(Were these boat or boats sent by Colonel Clive, or met with by chance?

(What did they do with their horses when they got into the boats to go to Culnah?

(Did they leave them with Meirzashabuzebeg, who came overland with them to Culnah?

(Did anything remarkable happen to the gentlemen, after they got into the boats?

(How long were they in them before they got to Culnah?)

I forgot to ask before, whether Mr. Watts and the rest were armed when they made their escape, and what arms they had.

Opposite the town of Nuddea where the soldiers were; there we had boats waiting for us, in which we proceeded; it was the next morning after we escaped, the 14th, I believe.

Our horses were gone before.

Yes, at Augadiep, and so on to Calcutta with some of them.

Nothing.

We met the army the 14th. in the afternoon.

We were armed with pistols on horseback.

114. *Whether Clive was asleep at the Battle of Plassey.*

TO THE PROPRIETORS OF 'EAST INDIA STOCK.'

GENTLEMEN,—Two letters addressed to you by a person who styles himself an old Proprietor have been published in this paper one on the 18th the other on the 26th instant. The defamation and falsehood which they contain prompted me to enquire who this old Proprietor, largely interested in your Stock by inheritance and long since retired into the country, might be, and learned from the printer that he was William Belchier of Lombard Street. As this person's character is very generally known, I think it unnecessary to say anything of him or his motives for such publications and shall only observe that he has no property in your Stock.

But as I was present at the Battle of Plassey and constantly near the person of the Commander-in-Chief during the whole of that engagement and knew his intended operations as well as those which were carried into execution, I think myself called upon by a regard for truth

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to declare that the malignant insinuations contained in the *query* relative to that battle are totally false, as everyone will be enabled to judge by the following faithfull and naked account of that transaction.

At 3 in the morning of the 23rd of June 1757 the troops consisting of 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 *sepoys* arrived in the Grove of Plassey and at daybreak discovered the army of Suraja Dowlet marching towards them. The English Commander-in-Chief made the disposition of the troops himself, and was at the head of them during the whole of the action until the enemy had retreated back to their entrenched camp, the attack of which he had then determined to defer till night. The field being now clear, he retired into an adjacent building, for no tents were pitched, to shift his cloaths wet with rain, but before he could change them word was brought him that a part of his troops were marching out of the Grove towards a small eminence on which the corps of French in Suraja Dowlet's Army had been posted. Surprized that such a motion should be made without his orders, he instantly hastened to the party, at the head of which he found Major Kilpatrick, whom he reprimanded for his unsoldierlike conduct and ordered him back to the Grove, and then, taking the command of these advanced troops himself, remained at the head of them during the second action which ended with our storming the enemy's camp two hours afterwards.

The Commander-in-Chief, far from having any thought of making overtures of peace to Suraja Dowlet, took upon himself to cross the river, march to the enemy, and fight the Battle of Plassey, contrary to the general opinion of the officers in a Council of War.

I am ready to attest these facts whenever called upon, and therefore have given orders to the printer to mention my name to anyone who may desire to know it.

The other *queries* of this pretended Proprietor are of the same disengenuous frame with that which I have now answered and by no means merit a particular refutation.

I am with a zealous attachment to the interest of the East India Company, gentlemen, your most humble Servant, A REAL PROPRIETOR.

(Endorsed)
To Robert Orme Esq. Letter published by Mr. Walsh in 1763, concerning the battle of Plassey in June, 1757.

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115. *Extracts from Mayor's Court Proceedings*, 1757.

(*a*) *Complaint to the Honourable the Mayor's Court of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall, filed and read* 15 *April*, 1757 (*p.* 36).

Humbly complaining sheweth this Honourable Court your orator Anna Baptista of the aforesaid town of Calcutta Inhabitant that some time in or about the nineteenth day of June last past in the year of Christ 1756 your orator then being desirous to provide against any exigence that might happen at that juncture of time to the prejudice of your orator and her family, she to that end went on board of the *Bonetta* sloop, was then lying at anchor in the river, in order to proceed down the river, which said sloop was the sole property of your orator, and at the time of your orator's going on board of the said *Bonetta* sloop Jane Derrickson, administratrix and widow of Joseph Derrickson deceased, with her family and sundry other persons went on board of the said *Bonetta* sloop, and your orator further shows unto this Honourable Court that some time after the sloop's arriving at Fulta there arose a dispute between your orator and the said Jane Derrickson, widow and administratrix of Joseph Derrickson, about the said *Bonetta* sloop. She the said Jane Derrickson . . . telling your orator that she was informed that the said sloop *Bonetta* was the property of her deceased husband Joseph Derrickson, that she should keep the same in custody till such time as your orator should produce sufficient proof or some paper of her deceased husband Joseph Derrickson to prove that the said sloop *Bonetta* was the property of your orator's, whereupon your orator informed the said Jane Derrickson . . . that as to any papers to produce it was not in her power, she having locked them up in her chest, which chest was left behind in the Fort together with sundry other things at the time of your orator's leaving Calcutta, that your orator would go up to Chinchura and Chandernagore to see if she could not find some persons who knew that the said *Bonetta* sloop was the property of your orator, that upon the return of your orator from Chinchura and Chandernagore she was informed that the said Jane Derrickson . . . had offered to sale your orator's said *Bonetta* sloop to Minhier Sweedland which very much surprised your orator, and your orator further sheweth that at the time of the coming down from Chandernagore and Chinchura she informed the said Jane Derrickson . . . that she had brought with her the dispositions of sundry persons who knew that the said *Bonetta* sloop was the property of your orator; that the said dispositions is ready to be produced whenever this

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Honourable Court shall think fit to call for them, and your orator while at Fulta waited upon the Honourable Roger Drake Esq. with the said dispositions, but got no redress at that time as she was informed His Honour was indisposed, that about the same time your orator being taken very ill she again went to Chandernagore, where she remained a long time labouring under a long fit of sickness which was the reason that she was obliged to late the case rest for that time but since been informed that the said Jane Derrickson . . . had made a sale of your orator's sloop the *Bonetta*, &c. &c.

(*b*) *Extract from answer of Jane Derrickson . . . to the Bill of Complaint of Anna Baptista. Filed and read* 6 *May*, 1757 (*p.* 67).

The defendant answereth and saith that she is of opinion and partly sure that the sloop called *Bonetta* was never intended for the complainant as sett forth and charged in the complainant's said Bill of Complaint for the following reasons first . . . that the complainant sets forth in the Bill of Complaint of her being desirous to provide against any exigence that might happen at that juncture of time to the prejudice of the complainant and her family and so embarked on board the said sloop *Bonetta:* this defendant with submission is desirous and willing to know, the complainant in seeming to have so much her own interest at heart could not have carried with her on board the said sloop papers if she, the complainant, had received any of the defendant's late husband Joseph Derrickson deceased as well as a chest and a bundle which the complainant got embarked on board the said sloop, and this defendant further saith that after this defendant had embarked on the said sloop *Bonetta* when this defendant met with a great many other people, among whom the complainant was one, it is very remarkable that when the said sloop was passing Tannah Fort the complainant was required to order all the people down the hold, upon which there arose some dispute by the passengers, in particular Mrs. Lazirus who was one that told the complainant that she was not to put up with any ill usage on board the said sloop as her husband paid for her being on board of the said sloop, that the complainant's answer hereto was as follows:—If Mrs. Lazirus paid for being on board of the said sloop, she, the complainant was to pay also or much to the same purport, upon which the complainant desired this defendant to quiet and make the people obey, for none else on board could do it except the defendant as this defendant was mistress of the said sloop in the absence of her husband . . . and this defendant

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further answereth and saith that the complainant never took notice of this defendant that the said sloop *Bonetta* was ever the property of the complainant or part thereof not till after this defendant had the news of the death of her husband Joseph Derrickson.

(*c*) *Complaint—John Cornelius* ver. *Bibby Madalena* (*p.* 64).

Sheweth unto this Honourable Court that your orator's said wife Maria Cornelius and Joseph Derrickson his attorney having both lost their lives at the capture of Calcutta aforesaid, &c. &c.

116. *Extracts from Mayor's Court Proceedings, 20 May and 22 July, 1757.*

(*d*) *Complaint of Edward Savage* (*p.* 89).

(One Edward Savage, mate of the *Hunter* schooner, complained against his Captain, Magnus Nicholson, as follows):—

That on or about the 16th day of June last your Orator being one of those who came on shore in order to assist and defend the Honourable Company's Factory leaving his effects on board the *Hunter* schooner in the Honourable Company's service, some time after one Magnus Nicholson who was then and now is Commander of the aforesaid schooner went on board the said *Hunter* schooner and opened your Orator's chest and escritoire and disposed your Orator's money and goods &c. as he thought proper. (Mr. Savage claimed 932 Arcot Rupees for these properties.)

(*e*) *Captain Nicholson's reply* (*p.* 298).

It's true this defendant went on board of the said schooner but by order of the Governour and Council, in whose service the defendant then was and still is, there to do his duty, but to his great surprize found on board near one hundred poor people naked and in distress—nay even a savage must have had compassion on them in that miserable condition particularly considering the narrow bounds they were confined to. Some days after passing Tannah Fort there was a general complaint amongst these people that they must inevitably be starved with the inclemency of the weather and at the same time this defendant was likewise informed there was a chest of old cloaths on board, which this defendant ordered to be opened and found mostly old rags which this defendant desired the poor people to distribute it amongst them-

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selves, particularly to those that were assisting in preserving the said schooner, which this defendant hourly expected must have fell in the hands of the enemy . . . in short nothing but the absolute necessity the poor people were in at that time induced them to accept of any part of the cloaths that was on board belonging to the complainant for this defendant looked on them as useless lumber on board . . . and had they not been given away must have been hove overboard otherwise they would have occasioned a pest in the vessel.

117. *Account of Military at Bengal, 29 February, 1756.*[1]

At Calcutta.

Officers and Soldiers, Europeans	...	260		
„ „ Blacks	...	225		
			485	
Company's Servants about	...		45	
				530

At Cossimbazar.

Officers and Soldiers, Europeans	...	24	
„ „ Blacks	...	16	
			40

At Dacca.

Officers and Soldiers, Europeans	...	31	
„ „ Blacks	...	15	
			46

At Luckipore.

Officers and Soldiers, Europeans	...	20	
„ „ Blacks	...	11	
			31
Total			... 647

Polier's Company sent to the assistance of Madras.

118. *Dutch Officials in Bengal.*[2]

CIVIL.

Directors.

Louis Taillefert, parting	1754
Adriaan Bisdom, arriving	1754

[1] India Office, Correspondence Memoranda, 1756 (15).

[2] This list was sent me by Dr. Colenbrander of the State Archives at the Hague.

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Senior Merchants.

George Lodewijk Vernet, (principal Chief) at Cossembazaar, second of the Direction 1755
Auguste Tabiteau, (first Chief) administrator at Hoogly ... 1755

Merchants at Hoogly.

Menso Tsinck 1755
Jacob Larwoot van Schevichaven, Fiscal 1755
Robbert Hendrik Armenault, warehouse master 1754

Other Merchants.

Arend Jacob de Wilde, second at Cossembazaar 1752
Hendrik Eylbracht, ex-merchant 1747
Jacques Latour, principal at Patna 1755

Under-Merchants ('Onderkooplieder') at Hoogly.

Michiel Bastiaanse, secretary to the Council of Policy, cashier ... 1754
Pieter Johan Ribaut 1753
Arent Hooreman, second warehouse master 1752
Cornelis Rietvelt 1755
Martinus Koning, first clerk to the Council of Policy, secretary to the Council of Justice, and translator for the Moorish and Persian languages 1750
Daniel Overbeek 1750
Anthony Julius Baugeman 1755
Jacob van der Sleyden Simonsz 1753
Jan Pieter de Humbert 1753

'Onderkooplieder' at Cossembazaar.

Samuel Crombon, cashier 1749
Andreas Franciscus Immens, LL.D., warehouse master ... 1752
Jan Frederik Christoffelsz 1751
Jeremias van Kingma 1751

Other 'Onderkooplieder.'

Jan Hendrik Hagha Damius, assayer in the Mint at Charim Abad 1752
Pieter Bruyes 1754

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Moïse la Font (Lafon), second at Patna 1755
Jan Albert de Wys, second resident in the Mint 1754

Bookkeepers at Hoogly.

Bernardus ten Noort 1754
Fredrik Koritzer 1754
Daniel Aukema, second at Dacca 1753
Lambert Randag, third at Dacca 1753

Bookkeepers in the Mint.

Christoffel Stiegenhaus, first 1751
Johannes Matthias Ross, second 1754
Andries Jurgen Schultz, third at Patna 1754

'Capitein ter Zee' (Sea-Captain).

Lucas Jurriaansz. Zuydland, 'equipagiemeester' (master of the equipment) 1752

MILITARY.

Captain-Lieutenant.

Jan Hendrik Swenkels 1753

Lieutenant.

Simon de Hoog 1751

Ensigns.

Dominicus van Staden 1749
Laurens Muysner 1753

Surgeon.

Lucas Cramer, at Hoogly 1755

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119. *Extract from a list of the Honourable United East India Company's covenanted servants at their severall Factorys in Bengall,* anno 1756.

Names.	Time of arrivall.	Ages.	Present employment.
President and Governor (Personal Salary, 200):			
The Honourable Roger Drake, Esq.	26th May, 1737	34	Cash Keeper
Members of Council (Personal Salary, 40):			
The Worshipful William Watts, Esq.	Ditto. Ditto.	38	Chief of Cossimbuzar
Charles Manningham, Esq.	5 Octr. 1750	34	Export Warehouse Keeper
Richard Becher, Esq. ...	2 Augt. 1743	35	Chief of Dacca
Paul Richard Pearkes, Esq.	30 Augt. 1740	31	Accomptant
William Frankland, Esq.	Ditto. Ditto.	34	Import Warehouse Keeper
Mathew Collett, Esq. ...	Ditto. Ditto.	35	Second of Council at Cossimbuzar
John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq.	5 July 1752	45	Zemindar
William Mackett, Esq. ...	16 Octr. 1741	33	Buxey
Edward Eyre, Esq. ...	Ditto. Ditto.	28	Storekeeper and Military Store Keeper
William Baillie, Esq.[1] ...	3 Septr. 1745	34	Chief of Jugdea
Chaplains (Personal Salary, 50):			
The Revd. Mr. Gervas Bellamy	22 Augt. 1726	65	Chaplain
The Revd. Mr. Robert Mapletoft	7 Octr. 1750	32	Chaplain
Senior Merchants (Personal Salary, 40):			
Messrs. Thomas Bellamy	8 July 1742	26	Assistant in the Export Warehouse
Peter Amyatt[2] ...	2 Augt. 1743	29	—
Thomas Boddam	Ditto	29	Resident at Bulramgurry
Henry Kelsall ...	Ditto	33	Sub Import Warehouse Keeper
Richard Court ...	Ditto	33	Sub Accomptant
Charles Stafford Playdell	25 Novr. 1744	29	—
Thomas Coates ...	Ditto	28	Register of Dusticks and Collector of Consulage
William Sumner	Ditto	26	Second at Dacca
John Jenks ...	Ditto	28	Third of Cossimbuzar
Roger Revely ...	Ditto	29	—
John Cooke ...	Ditto	31	Secretary

[1] Military storekeeper. See petition of Narayan Das, appended to Public Proceedings of August 6, 1759.

[2] Chief of Jugdea

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Names.	Time of arrivall.	Ages.	Present employment.
Junior Merchants (Personal Salary, 30):			
Messrs. James Vallicourt	3 Septr. 1745	28	Assistant in the Accompt-ant's Office
Luke Scrafton ...	25 Septr. 1746	26	Third of Dacca
Stanlake Batson	Ditto	26	Fourth of Cossimbuzar
Factors (Personal Salary, 15):			
Messrs. William Billers ...	16 July 1749	25	Sub Treasurer
Harry Verelst ...	Ditto	24	Second of Jugdea
John Law ...	Ditto	25	—
Harry Smyth ...	Ditto	24	Third of Luckipore
Thomas Hyndman	Ditto	24	Fourth at Dacca
Samuel Waller ...	Ditto	26	Fifth at Dacca
William Ellis ...	Ditto	24	Assistant in Military Store-keeper's Office
Charles O'Hara ...	15 July 1750	22	Assistant Engineer
William Rider ...	25 Septr. 1750	24	Assistant in the Cutcherry
John Jebb ...	Ditto	23	Assistant in the Accompt-ant's Office
William Tooke ...	Ditto	25	Assistant in Ditto
John Cartier ...	Ditto	24	Assistant at Dacca
John Carse ...	Ditto	24	Assistant in the Cutcherry
Warren Hastings	Ditto	25	Fifth of Cossimbuzar
Surgeons (Personal Salary, 30):			
Messrs. George Gray ...	13 June 1738	55	Surgeon
William Fullerton	21 June 1751	35	Ditto
Writers (Personal Salary, 5):			
Messrs. Charles English	9 July 1751	24	Assistant at Bulramgurry
William Lindsay	Ditto	21	Assistant to the Resident
John Johnstone ...	Ditto	25	Assistant at Dacca
Francis Sykes ...	Ditto	25	Assistant at Cossimbuzar
William Hay ...	29 July 1752	21	Assistant at Luckipore
Randolph Marriott	25 July 1753	21	Assistant at Cossimbuzar
Hugh Watts ...	Ditto	22	Ditto
Ascanius William Senior	Ditto	25	Clerk of the Court of Requests
Francis Vassmer	Ditto	20	Sub Secretary
John Chambers ...	Ditto	22	Assistant at Cossimbuzar
Ralph Thoresby	Ditto	23	Assistant in the Cutcherry
Nathan Drake ...	Ditto	23	Sub Export Warehouse Keeper
Samuel Middleton	Ditto	23	Assistant in the Secretary's Office
Charles Smith ...	Ditto	23	Assistant in the Store-keeper's Office
Stair Dalrymple	Ditto	22	Assistant in the Secretary's Office
Robert Wilkinson	7 June 1754	20	Assistant in the Cutcherry
Willes Orr ...	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Accompt-ant's Office
Robert Byng ...	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Secretary's Office

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Names.	Time of arrivall.	Ages.	Present employment.
Writers—continued:			
Messrs. William Grubb ...	7 June 1754	19	Assistant in the Export Warehouse
Ralph Leycester	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Import Warehouse
Patrick Johnstone	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Accomptant's Office
Aylmer Harrod ...	Ditto	20	Assistant in the Export Warehouse
Stephen Page ...	Ditto	20	Assistant in the Secretary's Office
Edward Page ...	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Accomptant's Office
John Street ...	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Secretary's Office
Francis Gostlin ...	Ditto	20	Assistant in the Export Warehouse
Samuel Howitt ...	Ditto	19	Assistant in the Secretary's Office
John Dodd ...	4 Augt. 1755	18	Assistant in the Export Warehouse
Richard Torriano	Ditto	18	Assistant in the Accomptant's Office
John Burdett ...	Ditto	18	Assistant in the Ditto
William Knapton	Ditto	18	Zemindar's Assistant
Henry Lushington	Ditto	18	Assistant in the Export Warehouse
George Ballard ...	Ditto	18	Assistant in the Treasury
Francis Charlton	Ditto	18	Assistant in the Import Warehouse
George Gray, Junr.	Ditto	18	Assistant in the Secretary's Office

(Sd) JOHN COOKE,
Secretary.

120. *Extract from a list of the Honourable Company's covenanted servants on the Bengall Establishment, 29 January, 1757.*

Names.	Time of arrivall.	Present employment.
President and Governor (Personal Salary, 200):		
The Honourable Roger Drake, Esq.	26th May 1737	Cash Keeper
Members of Council (Personal Salary, 40):		
The Worshipful William Watts, Esq.	Do.	Accomptant
Major James Killpatrick	—	Major
Messrs. Charles Manningham	—	Export Warehouse Keeper
Richard Becher ...	2nd August 1743	Import Warehouse Keeper

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Names.	Time of arrivall.	Present employment.
Members of Council—continued:		
Messrs. Paul Richard Pearkes	30th August 1740	Commissary
William Frankland	Do. Do.	Buxey
Mathew Collet ...	Do. Do.	Naval Storekeeper
John Zephaniah Holwell	2nd July 1752	Zemindar
William Mackett	15th September 1741	Military Storekeeper
Petter Amyatt ...	3rd August 1743	Collector of the Consulage and Register of Dustick
Thomas Boddam	Do. Do.	Resident at Bulram Gurry
Chaplain (Personal Salary, 50):		
The Reverend Mr. Richard Cobbe	—	Chaplain
Senior Merchants (Personal Salary, 40):		
Messrs. Henry Kelsall ...	3rd August 1743	—
Richard Court ...	Do.	Sub Accomptant
Charles Stafford Playdell	25th November 1744	Second at Bulram Gurry
William Brightwell Sumner	Do.	Sub Export Warehouse Keeper
John Cooke ...	Do. Do.	Secretary
Luke Scrafton ...	—	Ensign
Stanlake Batson...	—	Assistant Military Store Keeper
Factors (Personal Salary, 15):		
Messrs. William Billers ...	16th July 1749	Sub Treasurer
Harry Verelst ...	Do. Do.	Sub Secretary
Harry Smyth ...	Do. Do.	Sub Import Warehouse Keeper
Samuel Waller ...	Do. Do.	Assistant Naval Store Keeper
William Ellis ...	Do. Do.	Ensign
Culling Smith ...	Do. Do.	Assistant Buxey
Charles O'Hara ...	15th July 1750	Assistant Accomptant's Office
William Rider ...	—	Ensign
William Tooke ...	—	Volunteer
John Cartier ...	—	Ditto
Warren Hastings	—	Head Assistant Zemindary
John Johnstone ...	—	Lieutenant Fire Worker
Francis Sykes ...	—	Assistant Export Warehouse
Surgeons (Personal Salary, 30):		
Messrs George Gray ...	—	Surgeon
William Fullerton	—	Do.
Writers (Personal Salary, 5):		
Messrs. William Hay ...	—	Assistant Export Warehouse
Randolph Marriott	24th August 1753	Assistant Buxey
Hugh Watts ...	Do. Do.	Assistant Zemindary

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Names.	Time of arrivall.	Present employment.
Writers—continued:		
Messrs. Ascanius William, Senior	24th August 1753	—
John Chambers ...	Do. Do.	Accomptant's Office
Samuel Middleton	Do. Do.	Do. Do.
Willis Orr ...	7th June 1754	Do. Do.
Ralph Leycester	Do. Do.	Assistant Import Warehouse
Samuel Howitt ...	Do. Do.	Accomptant's Office
John Burdett ...	3rd August 1755	Do. Do.
Henry Lushington	Do. Do.	Assistant Export Warehouse
Francis Charlton	Do. Do.	Assistant Military Storekeeper
George Gray, Junr.	Do. Do.	Assistant Secretary's Office
Thomas French ...	—	—
Charles Rogers ...	—	Assistant Secretary's Office
John Smith ...	—	Do. Do.
Edward Leycester	—	Do. Do.
William Smith ...	—	Assistant Cash Keeper
Edward Oakes ...	—	Assistant Secretary's Office
William Shewen	—	Assistant Accomptant's Office
George Williamson	—	Assistant Secretary's Office
Phillip Dacres ...	—	Assistant Import Warehouse

121. *Summary of a list of inhabitants, &c., who bore arms at late siege of Calcutta, dated* 1 *July*, 1756.[1]

COMPANY'S SERVANTS: Drake (Governor); Manningham, Pearkes, Frankland, Macket, Holwell, *Eyre*, *Baillie*, (of Council); *Bellamy*, Sumner, Court, Cooke, *Coales*, *Valicourt*, *Jenks*, *Reveley*, *Law*, Billers, Ellis, Tooke, Rider, *Jeb*, *Carse*, Lindsay,[2] Senior, Vasmer, *Drake*, *Smith*, *Thoresby*, *Dalrymple*, Orr, *Wilkinson*, *Byng*, Leycester, *Page Stephen*, *Page Edward*, *Johnson*, *Harwood*, *Grub*, *Street*, *Gosling*, *Ballard*, Lushington, *Dodd*, *Toriano*, *Knapton*, Charlton, Bardet, Gray.

MILITARY OFFICERS: Minchin (Commandant); *Clayton*, *Buchanan*, Grant, *Smith*, *Witherington*, (Captains); *Blag*, *Hays*, *Simpson*, *Pickard*, *Talbot*, *Bishop*, (Lieutenants); *Bellamy*, *Scott*, Walcot, *Hastings*,[2] *Wedderburn*, Carstairs, (Ensigns); O'Hara (Engineer).

CLERGY: *Bellamy*,[2] Mapletoft.

DOCTORS: Gray, Fullerton, Taylor, Knox Senior, *Inglis*, (Company's); Knox Junior, Fletcher.[3]

[1] This does not include anyone who died at Fulta. Names in italics are of those described by Orme as having been 'killed or otherwise lost their lives.'

[2] Described by Orme as sick or invalids.

[3] Knox, junior, and Fletcher had apparently given up practice, and were living as free merchants.

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LAWYERS: *Dumbleton*, (Registrar), Putham, Ridge, Atkinson, *Berdal*, *Cocker*, Mackpherson,[1] *Porter*, *Hillier*.

FREE MERCHANTS: Beaumont, Margas, Holmes, Douglas, Wood, Cruttenden, Blachford,[1] Nixon, *Stevenson*, Cole.[1]

INHABITANTS: Baldrick, *Parker*, Pyefinch; Wilson, Rannie, Phillips, (tailors); Whaley, Burton, Alsop, *Stopford*, (butchers); *Guy*, *Surman*, Cole, Todd, *Stopford*, *Blue* (carpenters); *Leech*, *Burton*, (smiths); Tilley, *Cartwright*, *Bruce* (Court serjeants); *Coverley* (tailor); *Osborne* (sail-maker); Blaney, Barnet (joiners); *Johnson*[1] (farrier); Moulder (coach-man); Simms (footman).

FOREIGNERS: *Mackpherson Daniel*, Carvalho, Albert, La Beaum, Montague, Montro, *Montrong*, Freze, Piniot, *Coquelin*, Beanto, Caytano, Joam, Bodle.

FIDLERS: Ling, Tuball, Hilmbrat, *Janniko*, Heneriko, John.

SEA CAPTAINS AND OFFICERS: Rannie, Walmsley, Wedderburn, *Purnel*, Widdrington, Nickleson, Young, Watmore, Sanders, Campbell, Dixon, Mills, *Carey*, Lewis, Baldwin, Austin, Best, Baillie, Laing, Savage, Johnson, Smith, Costilly, Cozens, Lord, *Hunt*, Graham,[1] (Master Attendant), Aston[1] (Deputy Master Attendant), Summers, Iver, Caley, Elvis, Champion, *Collins*, Brown, Hague, Downey, Whiteridge, *Pickering*, Morain, McKensie, Dundas, Lemmon.[1]

PILOTS: Dean,[1] Parsons, Tool, McLaughlin, Tart, Pennatz, Morris.

35 European soldiers, 25 European artillery, 190 topazes, 50 Portugueze and Armenian militia.

122. *List of ships and vessells lying at Calcutta when attacked by the Moors, viz.*

Ships and Vessels lost.

Prince George[2]	Company's ...	Captain Hague.
Do. Edward	,, ...	Captain Dixon.
Swallow	,, ...	Captain Lewis.
Sophy	,, ...	no Commander.
Two Moor ships prizes ...	,, ...	do. do.
Neptune snow[3]	Co. service ...	Captain Austen.

[1] Sick or invalids.

[2] 'The *Prince George*, being run aground, was seized and burnt by the Moors.' (Fort Saint George, Letter to Court, March 28, 1757, paragraph 9).

[3] *Neptune* snow and *Calcutta* sloop lost in the first attempt to pass Tannah Fort, June 21 (*Drake's Narrative*, Vol. I., p. 161).

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Diligence do.[1]	Co. service ...	Captain Mills.
Ann do.	,, ...	Captain Watmore.
Richmond do.	,, ...	Captain Saunders.
Fortune ketch	Co. service ...	Captain Campbell.
Turnpenny do.	,, ...	Syrang.
Elizabeth schooner	,, ...	Captain Coquilare.
London sloop	,, ...	Captain Costelly.
Chance do.	Co. service ...	Captain Champion
Calcutta do.[2]	Company's ...	Ward (Pilot).
Dacca pinnace	,, ...	Fleman (do.).

Besides sundry other small barks.[2]

Ships and Vessels that Escaped.

Dodley	Co. service ...	Captain Young.
Fame	... ...	Captain Baldwin.
Hunter schooner	Company's ...	Captain Nicholson.
Lively ketch	Co. service ...	Captain Best.
Dragon sloop	... ...	Captain Cornelius.

123. *An account of ammunition in Fort William at the time of the Moors taking the place.*

Powder ready filled in the Garrison.

In the filling-room	7,000	caterage for	cannon.
Ready on the Points	1,600	do.	do.
14 chests with grape-shott fast to each caterage	350	do.	do. (9-pounders).

[1] *Diligence* ran aground June 24 (*Drake's Narrative*, vol. i., p. 161).

[2] In the General Journal for June, 1756, there is given a list of the Company's sloops. Their names are (1) *Grampus*, (2) *Mermaid*, (3) *Bonetta*, (4) *Fort Saint George*, (5) *Calcutta*, (6) *Hawke*, (7) *Dolphin*, (8) *Syren* (on the way from Madras), (9) *Seahorse*, (10) *Pinnace*. None of these, except the Calcutta and possibly the (Dacca) Pinnace, are mentioned in the above list, though some, if not most of them, must have been at Calcutta in June, 1756. The *Seahorse* apparently was at Madras (see Letter from Council, Fulta, to Council, Fort St. George, dated August 19, 1756). Another vessel, the *Nancy* grab (belonging to Mr. Court), is mentioned in the General Journal for September, 1756. Possibly these are included in the 'sundry other small barks.'

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A large quantity of iron round shott of different weights at least	... ...	37,000.
A quantity of powder in chests and barrels about	... ...	400 maunds.
A quantity of do. damp	...	100 do.
Musquet, carbine and pistol caterage ready filled	...	40,000.

The serjant that had the small caterages, Johan Bayer.
Who had the charge of cannon catterages, John Miller.

I James Todd do hereby acknowledge to have heard William Baillie Esq. declare (on Sunday the 20th of June 1756) that there was then remaining in the garrison five hundred *maund* of good powder and fifty *maund* of damp powder in Fort William.

JAMES TOD.

124. *Establishment of the French Company in Bengal in* 1756.[1]

The Factories of Chandernagore, Chief Settlement.
" " Cossimbazar,
" " Dacca.
The Factories of Patna and its dependencies,
" " Jugdea,
" " Balasore.

Statement of the Factories in Bengal on 23 January, 1756.

CHANDERNAGORE.

1 Director and Commandant.
6 Councillors.
29 Company's servants.
2 Officers of the port.
2 Architects.
1 Chaplain.
3 Surgeons.
2 Captains of the troops.
4 Lieutenants.
1 Ensign.
105 European soldiers.
141 Topasses.

[1] *Archives Coloniales*, Paris.

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1 Writer for the troops.
8 Gunners and assistant gunners.
5 Pilots.
5 Quartermasters.
21 Apprentices.
7 Marine officers.
266 Native clerks.
32 Servants in the hospital.

Total 642

COSSIMBAZAR.

1 Councillor commanding.
3 Company's servants.
1 Chaplain.
1 Surgeon.
1 Officer of the troops.
17 European soldiers.
13 Portuguese (Mesti) soldiers.
36 Others.

Total 73

DACCA.

1 Councillor commanding.
4 Company's servants.
1 Chaplain.
1 Surgeon.
1 Officer of the troops.
16 European soldiers.
7 Topasses.
87 Others.

Total 118

PATNA.

1 Councillor commanding.
2 Company's servants.
1 Surgeon.
7 European soldiers.
7 Topasses.
37 Others.

Total 55

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JUGDEA.

1 Under-merchant commanding.
1 Chaplain.
1 Surgeon.
2 European soldiers.
2 Topasses.
21 Others.

Total 28

BALASORE.

1 Under-merchant commanding.
7 European soldiers.
18 Others.

Total 26

125. *List of the garrison of Fort D'Orleans of Chandernagore, 1757.*

Europeans.

Prisoners	215
Do. sick and wounded in the hospital	98
	313
Released on parole	125
Dead during the siege...	40
	478
Escaped out of the Fort about	60

Topasses.

In prison	49
In the hospital	17
	66

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A return of the killed and wounded at the siege of Chandernagore, 1757.

French Europeans wounded	50
Do.	15
Do.	9
	74
Killed during the siege, or since dead of their wounds	40

Remain in the Hospital.

Wounded	74
Sick	24

DELAHAYE.

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INDEX AND GLOSSARY.[1]

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Abdally (Ahmad Shāh Abdālī or Shāh Durrānī), an Afghān from Herāt. Invaded India in 1748, 1757, and again in 1758, when he crushed the Marathas at Pānīpat, II., 239, 286, 308, 309, 385

Abdul Caussim Meer (Abdul Kāsim), II., 330

Abraham, Bernard, sergeant of the Militia, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 191; III., 153

Abuab mumnua (A., *abwāb mehmānī*), a cess levied on the inhabitants of a village to defray the expenses of the Zamīndār on his occasional visits, III., 376

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[1] The Christian names of many of the Europeans are not to be found in the Selection. They have been obtained from other sources. See my 'List of Europeans and others in the English Factories in Bengal at the time of the Siege of Calcutta in the Year 1756'; Calcutta, 1902.

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Anwar-uddīn Khān, Nawāb of Arcot, 1744-1749, killed at Ambur, II., 71, 74, 75, 76; III., 161
Aomnah (query Amanā, plural of Amin), a superior native court official or *Amīn*, a confidential agent or trustee, a native revenue official
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Arak (A.), spirit, juice, essence, country liquor
Arasdasht or Arasdass. *See* Arzdāsht
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Augadeep. *See* Agradwīp
Aukema, Daniel, I., 304; III., 410
Aumee Beg. *See* Omar Beg
Aumenollah. *See* Amīr-ulla
Aurang (P.), a place where any article of trade is manufactured and collected for wholesale disposal or export. During the Company's commerce it was used of the factories for piece-goods
Austin, captain of the *Neptune* (snow), I., 190; III., 75, 196
Avenue, the, I., lxxvi
Azimabad, native name of Patna
Azīm-ushshān, Nawāb of Bengal, I., xxiv

Baagbazar (Bāgh Bāzār), a district in the north of Calcutta, at the north-western apex of which stood Baagbazar or Perrin's Redoubt, probably named after Perrin's Bagh or Garden. *See* Perrin's, I., xxxiv.—Redoubt, I., 186; III., 37
Bacheracht, J., II., 101, 110, 113, 128, 285
Bādshāh (P.), a king or sovereign. *See* Great Mogul
Bādshāh Kulī Khān (soldier of the Emperor), or Fazl Kulī Khān, younger brother of Sirāj-uddaula, died 1755, I., 119, 249
Bāgh (P.), a garden, orchard, plantation
Bagley, Miss, III., 76, 107
Bahar or Behar, one of the three provinces forming the kingdom of Bengal, I., xxi, xxiii, xxvi, xxxiii, xxxv, cxlviii, 219, 304; II., 83, 85, 86.—Unruly Zamīndārs of, II., 360
Bahauder Aly Cawn (Bahādur Alī Khān), I., clxxxiii, cc; II, son-in-law to Mohan Lāl, 363, 427
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Bailey, corporal, I., xlv; II., 66
Baillie, Rev. Dr. Hugh, I., c, 50.—Killed in the Black Hole, I., 43
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—— Captain Robert (of the *Welcome*), son of Dr. Baillie, III., 21
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Bajrā (H.), a large boat used for travelling, round bottomed and without a keel
Baker, Henrietta, I., ci
Bakhshī (P.), a paymaster—Paymaster of the Army. Under the Mogul Government often one with the Commander-in-Chief
Balaroy (Bālājī Bājī Rāo), Peshwa of the Marathas, 1740-1758, II., 378
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Baldwin, Robert, Captain of the *Fame*, I., xciv; III., 76, 106
Ballard, George, killed in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 109, 190; III., 153
Bamagar. *See* Barnagore
Bamboo ladders, used by the natives in storming Fort William, I., lxxxix, 160

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Banchots, an obscene term of abuse
Bandel, a Portuguese Settlement to the north of Hugli, I., xxxiv, cxl; III., 14, 17, 36.—Church (said to be the oldest Christian church in Bengal), I., xcvii.—Convent, III., 43
Bandermalanka (Bandarmurlanka), in Madras, I., 212; II., 308
Bangla (Beng.), probably from Banga (Bengal), a thatched cottage such as is usually occupied by Europeans in the provinces or military cantonments. Anglicè, bungalow
Bānkabāzār or Bānkibāzār, the Emden Company or Prussian Settlement on the Hugli, north of Calcutta, I., lxv, lxxiii, 117, 143; II., 17, 22; III., 17. —Gallant defence by the Prussian Governor, I., xxx, xxxvi
Banyā (H.), a Hindu trader, shopkeeper, or money-changer. In Bengal commonly applied to the native cashier or man of business in the service of Europeans
Banyan. *See* Banyā
Baptista, Anna, III., 405
Barabāzār, a quarter of Calcutta, I., xlii
Barabulla Sands, in the mouth of the Hugli River, called by the Dutch Jannegat, I., 56; III., 20
Baraset or Barasut (Barasat), I., xlix, lxxiii, 142, 257; II., 6.—Drake's country house at, I., xlix
Barclay, Mrs. Mary, wife of Captain Alexander, III., 76, 107
Barkandāz (P.), a matchlock man, but commonly applied to a native of Hindustan armed with a sword and shield, who acts as a doorkeeper, watchman, guard, or escort
Barker, Captain Robert, I., cxxxvi; II., 189, 227; III., 33
Barnagore, Barnagur, Barnagul, Barnagut, Baranagore (Baranagar), formerly a Dutch Factory, I., cxxxviii, cxxxix, 117, 257; II., 68, 98, 109, 176, 240, 281; III., 5, 158
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Batavia, II., 18, 82, 284
Batson, Stanlake, I., lviii-lx, 9, 10, 46, 68, 101, 132, 133, 173, 251, 252, 253; II., 11, 13, 128, 129; III., 72, 105
Batta (Bhātā), (H.), difference or rate of exchange. In revenue matters it applies to the amount to be added or deducted from any payment according to the currency in which it is paid, as compared with a fixed standard coin. Amongst military men it applies to any extra payment made for special reasons—*e.g.*, service out of a soldier's proper country or district
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Baug. *See* Bāgh
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Baulkissen (Rāi Bāl-kishan, agent to Alīvirdī, 'Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 426), Gumāshta of Omichand, II., 63
Bausset, Monsieur, I., clii
Bay, the, the usual term for Bengal, I., 72
Bayer, Sergeant John (query John Boirs)
Bayley, Captain of the *Welcome* (query Robert Baillie), III., 21
Bāzār (P.), a market or street of shops
Beale, T. W., author of the 'Oriental Biographical Dictionary' (Calcutta,

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Beanto, Rev. Padre, a Portuguese priest, III., 416
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Bega (Bīghā), (H.), about one-third of an acre
Begam (Turk.), Princess (Yule and Burnell). M. Raymond ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 216 *n*) says *Bīgam* is applied to all daughters of Saids or descendants of Muhammad, *Khānum* to those of the Moguls, and *Bībī* to those of the Hindustanis
Begum. *See* Begam
Begum of Motijhīl. *See* Ghasīta Begam
Behar. *See* Bahār
Belcher, W., I., cxlvi; II., 214, 242; III., 25, 60
Belches. *See* Belcher
Belchier, William, of Lombard Street, II., 243; III., 403
Beldār (P.), a digger or delver; one who works with a *bel*, a pickaxe, or spade; a pioneer, sapper, or miner
Beldeah. *See* Beldār
Bellamy, Rev. Gervas, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, cxxxvii, 43, 85, 109, 114, 115, 156, 190; II., 190; III., 71, 105, 143, 153
—— Mrs. Dorothy (*née* Pomfret), wife of Rev. Gervas, died at Fulta, I., xciv; III., 76, 107
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—— Lieutenant John, son of Rev. Gervas, died in the Black Hole, I., lxx, xciv, 43, 191, 255; III., 72, 105, 143, 153
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—— Thomas, Captain of the *Lively* (ketch), wounded at Tanna, I., 256.—Dies at Fulta, I., xciv; III., 21, 76, 106
Betel, the leaf of the *piper betel*, chewed with dried areca-nut (which is thence improperly called betel-nut), *chunam*, etc. The word is Malayal. *Pān* is the term commonly used by modern Anglo-Indians (Yule and Burnell). (For detailed description see 'Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 451 *n*,

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241.)—Used as a token of safe conduct, I., lviii, 100
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Betsy (schooner), II., 235, 306, 308
Beyenat. *See* Baijnāth
Bhagulpur, I., clxxviii; III., 207, 209
Bhagwāngola, I., ccvi; II., 56
Bhītariyā (H.), a domestic, male or female; a member of the household
Bholanath Chunder, author of 'The Travels of a Hindu' (London, 1869)
Bigam. *See* Begam
Bigenaut (*see* Baijnāth), an agent of the Seths
Bihar. *See* Bahār
Bildar. *See* Beldār
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Bisdom, Adrian, Director of the Dutch Settlement at Hugli or Chinsurah, I., lviii, lxv, lxxi, lxxii, ciii, cvi, cxi, cxxviii, cxl, cliv, clxxii, 15, 18, 27, 31, 32, 34, 38, 48, 56, 103, 117, 129, 308; II., 52, 72, 81, 100, 101, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 128, 179, 190, 199, 276, 285, 318; III., 147, 235, 236.—Kindness to British refugees, I., cix.—Welcomes the British on their return, I., cxxvii; II., 78.—Refuses to supply the Admiral with pilots, I., cxxviii.—Protests against the violence of the British, I., cxl; II., 108.—Shelters the Moors and their goods, I., cxl; II., 199.—Expels the French from Chinsurah, I., clxxii; III., 235, 236.—Clive's opinion of, II., 369
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Boddam, Thomas, I., xciv, cxi, cxvi, 57-59, 73, 104, 172, 198, 219, 222, 254, 299; II., 13, 14, 168, 298; III., 76, 106
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Bound Ditch, the, used of the Maratha Ditch
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Bread and Cheese Bungalow, the. The site of this is fixed by Captain Barker's report appended to Fort William Public Proceedings, 2 May, 1757 (not included in the selection), which gives it as the limit of Calcutta to the east of Lady Russell's house. This places it close to the Baitakhāna tree, I., cxlvi; II., 254
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Chappa or Chhappa (Tel. Karn), a stamp, seal, or impression
Charimabad. *See* Karimabad
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Charnagore. *See* Chandernagore
Charter of the Company. *See* Company
Chaudri, or Choultry, or Chowry, a word peculiar to Southern India; a hall, shed, resting-place for travellers; place for the transaction of business (Yule and Burnell)
Chauk, some article of export, III., 390
Chauk (H.), a square, an open place

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in a city where the market is held and the chief police-office is commonly stationed
Chaukī (H.), a police or customs station
Chauth (literally, 'the fourth part'), a tax extorted by the Marathas, I., xxvii
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Chawbuck-swar (P., *chābuk-sawār*), a groom or jockey
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Current rupees. 'The *sicca* rupee' (*i.e.*, the rupee bearing the Emperor's stamp) 'varies in value in the proportion of 116 to 111. The natives take the 116 as their unit of account, being the *sicca* rupee during the first year of circulation. The English, to avoid fractional numbers, take the decimal 100, by relation to which they calculate and estimate all their coins. Thus, $\frac{111}{116}$ parts of the *sicca* rupee constitutes that *money of account* to which the English have given the name of *current rupee*' (Verelst's 'View of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the English Government in Bengal,' p. 89). From this quotation it is evident that the English *current rupee* was not a coin at all
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Darogha (P., *Dārogha*), the head of a police, customs, or excise station
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Dastak (P.), passport or permit, a document authorizing the free transport of certain goods and their exemption from Customs duties in favour of English traders
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Dīwān (P.), a Minister or chief officer of State; a revenue or financial officer; the manager of a Zamīndār
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Fakīr (A.), a religious mendicant
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Fanam, a small coin used in Southern India (Yule and Burnell)
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Farmān (P.), a mandate, order, command, patent, charter
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French Director. *See* Renault

French East India Company, I., xxxviii, cli, clxxiv, 57, 63; II., 7.—Establishment in Bengal, III., 418

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French ship at Budge Budge, I., cxxxi; III., 2, 4, 179

French, Mrs. Mary, wife of Thomas, III., 76, 107

French, Thomas, III., 415

Frenghistan, I., ciii

Frere, seafaring man, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv; III., 72, 105

Freze, III., 416

Fringhys. *See* Feringhees

Fromaset, M., inhabitant of Chandernagore, II., 291

Fullerton, William, Company's surgeon at Calcutta, sole survivor of Mīr Kāsim's prisoners in 1763, I., xcvi, 41, 153, 172, 190; III., 76, 106

Fulta, I., lxxi, lxxxiv, xcii, xciv, xcv, xcvii, xcviii, cii, ciii, cix-cxix, cxx, cxxvii, cxxxiii, cxxxv, 25, 37, 55, 58, 60, 89, 104, 105, 117, 161, 162, 192-194, 203, 205, 208, 223, 231, 237, 238, 243, 248, 296, 297, 299, 300, 301, 304, 306; II., 14, 40, 73, 89, 93, 104, 120, 124, 134, 154-156, 187-190, 192, 195, 204; III., 19, 156, 171.—Hospital ship, II., 187.—Fulta Road, III., 3

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Futtock. *See* Phātak

Futtuah Chund (Fath Chand), I., 32, 55; III., 349

Gange or Gunge (Ganj), a mart or market, II., 237

Ganges, the, Captain William James, captured *L'Indien* on her passage from Bombay to Calcutta (*Ives' Journal*, p. 118 *n*)

Ganges, River, I., xxi, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxviii, lxv, cx, cxvi, clxii, clxxvi, 38, 39, 56, 180, 208, 209, 210, 214; II., 57, 59, 72, 79, 81, 88, 91, 103, 105, 114, 115, 120, 121, 168, 179, 180, 181, 206, 223, 231, 249, 250, 268, 273, 274, 286, 295.—Bridge of boats, I., 209

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Garden Reach, I., xxxv (*n*)

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Gatliff, John, survived the Black Hole, I., xciii, 44
Gaulivahs, a mistake for Gautwalas (Ghātwāl), a ferryman or keeper of a mountain pass, II., 216
Gaupp, George Frederick, Captain of the Swiss Company, I., cxlvi, cxcix, 228; II., 214, 242; III., 33, 53, 321
Gaut. *See* Ghāt
Gayree. *See* Gheria, III., 333
Gazettes de France, xcviii
Gazood Cawn. *See* Ghāzī-uddīn Khān
Genim. *See* Ghanīm
Genoa, the Banks of, I., 63; III., 340
Gentiles. *See* Gentoo, I., 51, 208
Gentoo (Port., *Gentio*), a gentile or heathen (Yule and Burnell); a Hindu as distinguished from a Muhammadan
Germany, I., xxiii
Ghanīm (Ar.), a robber, plunderer
Ghasīta Begam, eldest daughter of Alīvirdī Khān, wife of Nawāzish Muhammad Khān—her proper name was Mihrunnissā Begam ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 109), I., xxix, xxx, xliv, xlv, xlvii, clxxxiii (*n*), 95, 119, 122-124, 162, 163, 174, 175, 179, 206, 207, 243, 249, 250, 284, 303; II., 2-5, 7, 56, 65, 66, 143, 158; III., 163, 217-219
Ghāt (H.), a landing-place, mountain pass
Ghatbarry, a tax upon boats collected at the Ghāts or Chaukīs (Bolt's 'Considerations on Indian Affairs,' 1772)
Ghazipur, III., 214
Ghāzī-uddīn Khān, Amīr-ul-umarā (original name Shahāb-uddīn), Wazīr of the Emperors Ahmad Shāh and Ālamgīr II., I., xlvii, xlviii, cv, cvi, cxcvii; II., 353, 400, 418, 420, 443; III., 218
Gheria (Vijaia-drūg), seaport and fort on the Bombay Coast captured by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive in February, 1756, I., xxxi; II., 7, III., 111
Gheriah (in Bengal), Battle of, I., xxvii
Ghulām Husain Khān, author of the 'Seir Mutaqherin,' translated by the French renegade Raymond (Haji Mustapha). New edition, 4 volumes. Calcutta, 1903. Relative of Sirāj-uddaula, his maternal grandfather being a cousin of Alīvirdī ('Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 346), I., xxviii, xcvii, cvi, cxi, 1, 11, 57, 70, 98, 117; II., 161
Ghulām Shāh, I., cvii
Ghyretty, or the French Gardens, south of Chandernagore
Gibbons, William, Adjutant, II., 263
Gingis Khan. *See* Changez Khān
Gloire, La, a French ship, I., 307
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Gobindpur, I., lxxxi, lxxxiii, 194, 246, 247, 257, 292, 296; II., 13; III., 7, 11
Goddard, Mr., II., 37
Godolphin (ship), II., 28
Godown (Beng., *gudām*), magazine, storeroom, warehouse
Godwin, Captain of the Train, died at Fulta, I., 221; III., 20, 21
Golāb Chand, I., xlii
Golam Shaw (Ghulām Shāh), I., 2; II., 53, 60, 69
Golaub Foul or Gulāb-kī-phūl, rose-flower
Golaum Ali Cawn (Ghulām Alī Khān), Arzbegī, I., 1; II., 61
Golaum Hassein Cawn. *See* Ghulām Husain Khān
Golconda, II., 308, 392; III., 29, 253
Golgaut Nulla (*see* Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' iii., 299, under Gholghāt), I., 136
Golgotha, apparently a French version of Calcutta, I., 227; III., 116, 117
Gomasta. *See* Gumāshta
Gombroon, I., xcix.—French Agent at, I., xcix
Goodagurry (Godagiri), II., 432
Gooding, Mrs. Ann, I., xciv; III., 76, 107

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Gorabardār (H., *Gaura*), a Hindu caste in Orissa, the members of which are employed as palki-bearers
Gosāin (Sansk., *gosvāmī*), a religious mendicant
Goslin or Gostlin, Francis, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 190; III., 72, 105, 153
Gospel, the, II., 231
Gougonta. *See* Golgotha
Gould, Mrs. Anne, III., 76, 107
Government or Governor's House, I., lxxxix, cii, cxxxv, 51
Governor, the. *See* Roger Drake, junior
Governor Poors or Pool. *See* Govindpore
Govindpore. *See* Gobindpur
Govindram Metre (Govind Rām Mitra), I., xxii, lxxi, 140, 257, 258; II., 208, 254
Grab (Ar., *ghurāb*), a galley (Yule and Burnell)
Graham, David, Captain, master-attendant; died at Fulta, I., lxxxvii, xciv, 263; III., 75, 106
Grampus (sloop), I., cxiv
Grand or Great Mogul (this term was first applied to the Emperor of Delhi by the Portuguese), I., lii, 71, 124, 174, 183, 196, 197, 199, 215, 219, 220, 225, 229, 239, 241, 242, 250, 274, 279, 281; II., 9, 14, 16, 18, 20, 53, 56, 70, 78, 83-85, 125, 127, 130, 224, 225, 239, 242, 270, 282, 305, 309, 464; III., 29, 81, 97, 111, 112, 122.—His Court, III., 98, 99
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Grant, Alexander, Captain and Adjutant-General, I., lvii, lxvii-lxix, lxxviii, lxxxii, xcvi, cxii, cxiv, clx, clxxx, cxcix, 41, 61, 81, 89, 102, 107, 112, 129, 130, 137, 144, 153, 158, 173, 189, 200, 201, 255, 262, 292; II., 26-28, 30, 45, 366, 367, 369; III., 53, 75, 105
Grant, Archibald, Captain, III., 51, 53, 58
Grant, Thomas, pilot, I., cxxvii; III., 32
Gravensand (Dutch ship), II., 82
Gray, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Dr. George Gray, III., 76, 106
—— George (senior), Company's surgeon, I., xcvi, 44, 172; III., 76, 106
—— George (junior), son of Dr. Gray, escaped after the capture of the Fort, I., xciii, 44, 105, 172, 194; III., 72, 105
Great Bazar, I., lxxvi, 257
Great Britain, I., 280.—King of, I., 14, 16, 18, 56, 200, 221, 242; II., 83
Gregory, Robert, I., cix, cxv
Greyhounds, III., 399
Griffin, Commodore, I., xxxii; III., 289
Griffiths, Griffy, joiner, III., 22
Griffiths, Mr., I., 85, 110, 111, 130; II., 31.—Mrs., III., 76, 107
Grub or Grubb, William, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 109, 190; III., 72, 105, 153
Gruff goods (Dutch, *grof*), coarse
Gumāshta (P.), agent, steward, factor; an officer employed by Zamīndārs to collect rents, by bankers to receive money, and by merchants to carry on their business in other places
Gunpowder Plot, III., 23
Guns, I., lxii, lxx, lxxxvii, cxxxvii, 82, 114, 149, 259, 294; II., 32
Guy, James, carpenter and seafaring man, I., xciv, 43, 191; III., 72, 104, 154.—Killed in the fighting, I., 43, 191; III., 154.—Died in the Black Hole, III., 72, 105
Guzerbans (Guzar-bān). In Vol. III., p. 46, the meaning is given as a 'collector of tolls at ferries,' which suggests that the word comes from *guzar* (P.), a ferry
Gyria. *See* Gheria

Habīb Beg, I., cvi
Habitans, I., 139 (*n*)

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Hackery (probably of Portuguese origin), a bullock-cart (Yule and Burnell)
Hague, Thomas, Captain of the *Prince George*, I., lxx, lxxxiii, 113, 187; III., 77
Haibat Jang (P., 'Terrible in War'), a title of Sirāj-uddaula
Haidarabad, II., 205
Hājī Ahmad, elder brother of Alīvirdī, I., xxv, 119.—Enters Shujā Khān's service, I., xxv.—Early connection with the Seths, I., xxvi.—Death, I., xxix
Hājī Mahdī, II., 62
Hakīm Beg, I., lvi-lix, clxi, 1-3, 5 (*n*), 6, 10, 125, 215, 250, 252; II., 54
Halabass (Ilahabās). *See* Elibas, II., 443
Harding, Miss, III., 75, 105
Hardwicke (ship), Captain John Sampson
Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor, II., 243
Haris Chaudhārī, Dīwān of Hakīm Beg, I., 1, 2
Harkāra (P.), a messenger, courier, emissary, spy
Harris, Abraham, boatswain's mate, III., 21
Harrod, Aylmer, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 190; III., 72, 105, 153
Hasan Kulī Khān, Minister of Nawāzish Muhammad, murdered, I., xxix, ccviii, 123; II., 16, 52
Hastings, Henry, Ensign, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 191; III., 153.—Marquis of, I., xci.—Warren, Governor of Bengal in 1772 and Governor-General 1774-1775, I., lx, cxv, cxvi, 169, 173, 219, 220; II., 13; III., 72, 105, 150
Hatmen, the, I., xxviii
Havildār (P., *Hawāladār*), a native military officer, next below a sūbahdār
Hawke (sloop)
Hay, William, killed in the troubles with Mīr Kāsim in 1763, I., 172; III., 76, 106
Hays, Francis, Lieutenant, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 109, 191; III., 72, 105, 153
Hayter, R., Lieutenant of the *Kingfisher*, I., xcvii; II., 202; III., 14, 54
Hazārī Mal, brother-in-law of Omichand, I., xliv, lxxiii, 142, 258
Hedleburgh, Sergeant of the Train, a Dutchman who betrayed the back gate of the Fort to the Nawab and entered his service, I., lxxxviii, 185; III., 155
Helmstead, John, I., 190
Henderson, Thomas, escaped after the capture of the Fort, I., 44
Heneriko, a fiddler, III., 416
Herdman. *See* Erdman
Hey, Rawling, Third Lieutenant of the *Kent*, I., clxix; II., 312; III., 5, 10, 115
Heyderabad. *See* Haidarabad
Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, I., xcvii
Hijili, I., clxix
Hillier, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv; III., 72, 105
Hilmbrat, a fiddler, III., 416
Himalayas, I., xxi
Hindostan, King of. *See* Grand Mogul
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Hindu sepoys, I., cxxvii
Hindu temples destroyed by Murshid Kulī, I., xxv
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Hirā Jhīl, I., ccii
Hircara. *See* Harkāra
Hirwood, escaped after capture of the Fort, I., 44

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Hislop, Captain, I., cxxiii
Hodgee Mindi. *See* Hājī Mahdī
Hodges, William, artist, I., cix
Hodjee Hamid. *See* Hājī Ahmad
Holdernesse, Lord, II., 194 (*n*)
Holī, the, a Hindu festival in honour of Krishna, properly ten days before the full moon in the month of Phālgun (February-March)
Holland, Mrs. Mary, wife of Captain William Hollard, III., 76, 107.
—— Mrs. Sophia, widow of Major Holland and wife of Captain Peter Duncan, III., 76, 107
Hollanders, I., 29
Holme(s), Thomas, seafaring man or free merchant, married Lady Russell, I., lxxx, 130, 152, 154, 158, 189, 245, 254, 261
Holmes, III., 75, 106
Holwell, John Zephaniah, I., xxii, xxxv, xl, xli, xlvi, liv, lxi, lxiii, lxv, lxvii, lxix, lxx, lxxviii, lxxix, lxxxi, lxxxiv, lxxxvi-xcii, civ, cx, cxxvii, cxxxiii, cliii, 12, 13, 14, 18, 24, 39, 41, 43, 47, 50, 61, 65, 66, 76, 82, 85, 88, 89, 91, 93, 102, 103, 107, 109, 116, 121, 122, 128, 130, 135, 137, 142, 146, 148, 149, 152-155, 159, 160, 164, 166, 168, 169, 173, 189, 191, 198, 201-204, 219, 222, 238, 246, 247, 254, 262-264, 266-268, 275, 285; II., 1-52, 92, 95, 122, 128, 129, 136, 139, 141, 142, 144, 146-163, 172, 182, 186, 188, 193, 233, 234, 248, 464; III., 32, 72, 73, 97, 105, 111, 131, 154, 169-171. — Zamīndār of Calcutta, I., xli.—His great influence, I., xli, 50, 85, 93, 266; III., 97.—Advises Drake to dismiss Krishna Dās, I., xlvi.—Concurs in the expulsion of Nārāyan Dās, I., xlix.—Advises arrest of Krishna Dās, I., lxxiii. — Succeeds Drake in defence of Calcutta, I., lxxvi. — Concludes a verbal truce, during which the Fort is surprised, I., lxxxvii.—Surrenders to a native officer, I., lxxxviii.—Interviews with the Nawab, I., lxxxix.—Refuses to escape, I., xc. — His experience in the Black Hole, I., xc; III., 131.—Is accused of concealing treasure, I., xci.—Taken prisoner to Murshidābād, I., xci.—Released at the intercession of the Nawab's ladies, I., xcii.—Arrives at Fulta, I., xcii, cxiii. —Protests against Drake's resumption of authority, I., cxiii.—Joins the Agency, I., cxiv.—Joins the Secret Committee, I., cxiv.—Visit to Bulramgurry, I., cxvi. — Appointed member of the Select Committee, I., cxviii. — Suspected of intrigue by Clive, I., cxxxiii. — Clive's bad opinion of, I., cxxxiv; II., 186.—Goes to England on the *Syren*, II., 172, 248; III., 24.—Arrives in England, III., 83.—Accused of wanting to flee with Drake, I., 168.—Accused of being bribed to shelter Krishna Dās, III., 368.—Injury to his eyes, II., 1.—His monument to his fellow-sufferers, I., xci (*n*)
Hoog, Simon de, a Dutch Lieutenant, II., 101, 110, 113, 128, 285; III., 410
Hookah (Ar., *hukkah*), the Indian pipe (Yule and Burnell)
Hookem Beg. *See* Hakīm Beg
Hooreman, Arent, member of the Dutch Council at Hugli, I., 15, 27, 31, 32, 34, 38; III., 409
Hospital, the, I., 85; II., 32
Hossein Ally Beg Cawn. *See* Golam Ali Cawn
Hossein Cooly Cawn (Hasan Kulī Khān)
Howitt, Samuel, killed in the Patna Massacre, 1763, III., 415
Hubbo, Syrang, petition to Council, I., cxxix; III., 346
Hugli, Fort, I., xxxiv, xli, cxxxix, cxl; II., 88, 102, 109, 116, 201-203, 258.—Faujdār, I., xxxiv, cxviii, cxxxix, cliii, clxiii, cxcv, 51, 170, 305
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Hunt, Captain, I., xciv, 43, 191; III., 72, 105, 154.—Mrs., III., 76, 107
Hunter (schooner), Captain Magnus Nicholson I., lxxxii, 159; II., 157
Hurris Chowdree. *See* Haris Chaudharī
Husain Alī (son of Hakīm Beg), I., lviii, lix, 5, 10
Husain-uddīn, brother of Hasan Kulī Khān, murdered, I., xxix
Husbulhookum (A., *Hasb-ul-hukm*), lit., according to command, a document issued agreeable to royal command by the Wazīr or other high officer of Government
Huyghens, Dutch Director, II., 111
Huzzeromull. *See* Hazārī Mal
Hylierd. *See* Hillier, I., 43
Hyndman, Thomas, died at Fulta, I., xciv, 36, 37, 70, 96, 173; II., 192; III., 75, 94, 105

Ikrām-uddaula ('The Honour of the Empire'), younger brother of Sirāj-uddaula, and father of Murād-uddaula. He married a daughter of Atā-ulla Khān and Rābiah Begam, niece of Alīvirdī ('Seir Mutaqhērin,' ii., 17). He was also called Bādshāh Kulī Khān ('Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 345), *q.v.*
Immens, Andreas Franciscus, a Dutchman, III., 409
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India, Paradise of, I., xxi, lxiii (*n*); III., 160
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Inglis, William, Company's surgeon at Calcutta, died at Fulta, I., xciv, xcvi, 44
Inhabitants of Calcutta, Protest, I., 66
Ironside, Mr., III., 361
Islands, the, or Isle de France (*i.e.*, Mauritius), I., clvi, 204, 227; II., 205, 303
Ithaca, II., 329
Itlāk (A.), a fee exacted from a defendant as wages for a peon stationed over him as soon as a complaint is preferred
Iver, seafaring man, III., 416
Ives, Edward, surgeon of the *Kent*, author of 'A Voyage from England to India in the Year 1754,' etc., London, 1773, I., cxxxi, cxxxviii; II., 279 (*n*)

Jack's Hole. *See* Jannegat, I., 56
Jackson, Mr., III., 393
Jacobs, Abraham, I., cxv, clix, 41.—Mrs., III., 76, 107
Jafar Alī Khān. *See* Mīr Jafar Alī Khān
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Jagat Seth (H., 'The Merchant of the World'), title originally of Fath Chand, used of his grandsons Mah-

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tāb Rāi and Swarūp Chand. Mahtāb Rāi was killed by Mīr Kāsim in 1763 ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 493, 504), I., xxv, xxxviii, xlii, cxv, 32, 141; II., 53, 54, 62, 104, 130, 160, 175, 176, 249, 276-278, 294, 320, 343, 344, 349, 362, 368, 402, 431, 437, 441; III., 173, 175, 181

Jagdea, I., xxxv, lxviii, xciv, cxi; II., 130, 172, 201, 208, 290; III., 76, 106

Jaggernaut Singh. *See* Jagannāth Singh

Jaggipore (Jangipur), on the Bhāgīrathī above Murshidabad, near its junction with the Ganges, II., 377

Jaggree, coarse brown sugar made from the juice of the *khajur* or wild date (Yule and Burnell)

Jaghire (P., *jāgīr*), an assignment of the revenues of a tract or district of land, with the powers necessary for collection

Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), I., xliv (*n*)

Jail, the, I., lxxvii, 40, 79, 80, 82, 107, 110, 111, 114, 147-149, 164, 189, 191, 258; II., 30, 32-35

Jains, the, I., xxv (*n*)

Jalangi Town, II., 63, 408

Jamadār (P.), a native military officer or commander, chief of the peons.—A kindhearted, III., 137

James, William, Captain of H.M.S. *Protector*, and afterwards of the *Ganges* and the *Revenge*, II., 283; III., 70, 108, 157

Jannegat, I., 37, 56.—Called by the English Barabulla Sand, III., 20

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Jarden, Monsieur, II., 281

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Jedda, III., 216

Jellinghee River and Town. *See* Jalangi

Jemidar. *See* Jamadār and Zamīndār, which two words are often confused

Jemindar. *See* Zamīndār

Jenks, John, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 62, 109, 115, 190; II., 158; III., 72, 105, 135, 140, 153

Jennings, seafaring man, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv; III., 72, 105

Jennings, William, Captain, III., 54, 321

Jentoo. *See* Gentoo

Jesuits' church at Chandernagore, II., 118.—House at Chandernagore, II., 118

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Joam, a foreigner, III., 416

Jobard, Monsieur, a French officer, III., 206, 213 (*n*)

Jobbins, Miss, III., 76, 107

John, a fiddler, III., 416

John, Jacob, II., 62

Johnson, a farrier, III., 416.—Seafaring man, I., xciv; III., 416

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—— Rev. Mr., married Mrs. Watts, I., lxi

Johnston, James, escaped after the capture of Fort William, I., 44

—— Sir James, of Westerhall, III., 90

—— John, son of Sir James, I., 70, 173; II., 418; III., 75, 105

—— Patrick, died in the Black Hole, son of Sir James, I., xciv, 43, 109, 190; III., 72, 105, 153

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Jones, Evan, Captain of the *Syren*, was mate of the *Doddington* when she was wrecked, II., 189; III., 24, 83

Jones, Jasper Leigh, Captain of the Artillery: his vain protest to Council regarding the defences of Calcutta, I., lxvi, 74, 295; II., 25

Jones, John, I., xciii

Joniano. *See* Torriano

Jubbo, half-brother of Coja Wājid, II., 111

Jugdea or Jugdia. *See* Jagdea

Juggernaut. *See* Jagannāth

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Jullongee River. *See* Jalangi
Jummadar. *See* Jamadār
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Jungipore. *See* Jangīpur
Jungles (P., *jangal*), a forest or thicket
Jusseraut Khan. *See* Dasarath Khān

Kabirāj (Beng.), a physician
Kachahrī (H.), court, office, hall for public business
Kadm Hassan Khan (Khādim Husain Khān), a military officer ('Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 449), II., 289
Kāfir (Ar.), an infidel; used in India of the pagan negroes (Yule and Burnell)
Kāhan (H., Beng.), a measure of value equal to sixteen *panas* of *kaurī* shells, or to 1,280 *kaurīs*
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Kāmgār Khān, I., lxxxviii (*n*)
Karamnāsa River, western boundary of Bengal
Karimabad, a quarter in the north-west of Murshidabad where the Dutch Mint was situated
Kāsid (A.), a courier, a running footman, messenger, or postman.—Their swiftness, I., lxiv, 126
Kāsim Alī Khān, I., lvi, 8
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Katār (H.), a dagger
Katkirāya (H.), customs paid on hired boats
Katra, tomb of Murshid Kuli Khan at, I., xxv
Kaurī (H.), a small shell, the *Cypræa moneta*, used as coin in Bengal. Four *kaurīs* = one *ganda*; twenty *gandas* = one *pan*
Kāzī, Kaji, or Qazee (A.), a Muhammadan judge
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Khush Bāgh, burial-place of Alīvirdī and Sirāj-uddaula, I., xxx, ccviii
Khwāja (P.), a rich or respectable person, a gentleman or opulent merchant, used commonly of Armenian merchants (vulg., *Coja*)
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Kiladār (P.), commander or governor of a fort
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Kitmutgar (P., *khidmatgār*), a table servant
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Kooti. *See* Kothī
Koran (Kurān), I., xxviii, xxx, ccv; III., 251
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Kos (H.), a measure of distance, generally taken as about two miles
Kothī (H.), a spacious house, warehouse, factory
Kotwa. *See* Cutwa
Krishna Dās, Dīwān of Hakīm Beg, I., 2
Krishna Dās, son of Rāj Ballabh, I., xliv-xlvii, xlix, l, lv, lxxiii, xci, 53, 62, 67, 95, 105, 119, 120, 142, 160, 162, 163, 249, 250, 254, 278-280, 285; II., 5-7, 62, 136-139, 143, 144, 146, 157-161; III., 348-350, 368.—His flight to Calcutta supposed to be a trap for the British, I., xliv, lxxiii, 279, 280, 285. —His wife, I., xlv
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Kror (H.), ten millions
Kulī (H.), daily hire or wages; a day-labourer, probably of Tamil origin
Kuni Chowdry. *See* Haris Chaudharī

Labeaume. *See* Lebeaume
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Lack (Laksha), one hundred thousand
Ladies (English), captured by the Moors, I., lxxxiv, xcvii, cx, 52, 183; III., 80
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Fort William Council from Mr. Becher, Collet, Commissioners, etc., Court of Directors, Drake, Holwell, Hubboo Syrang, Lebeaume, O'Hara, Sykes
Fort William Select Committee from Ammin Manjey, Clive, Killpatrick, Coote, Fort St. George Select Committee, Watson, Watts
French Council at Chandernagore from Clive, Coja Wājid, Fort William Select Committee
French East India Company, Directors of, from French Council at Chandernagore, Isle de France
Fulta, Council at, from Forth, Holwell, Tooke, Watts and Collet, Watts, Collet and Batson

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Isle de France, Superior Council, from French Council at Chandernagore
Jafar Alī Khān from Clive
Killpatrick, Major, from Clive, Dutch Council at Hugli
Knox, John, from Law
La Tour, M., from Dutch Council at Cossimbazar
Law, Jean M., from Clive, Nawāb
Mabbot, Mr., from Clive
Mānikchand from Clive, Holwell
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Merlet, M., from M. Dechaluaye
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Newcastle, Duke of, from Mr. Ditts
Omar Beg from Jafar Alī Khān
Omichand from Clive
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Petrus Arratoon from Omichand
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Pocock, Admiral, from Clive
Pondicherry, Superior Council at, from Renault
Rāi Durlabh from Clive
Rājarām Singh from Nawab
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Vernet, M. (*see* Dutch Council at Cossimbazar), from Ross
Walsh, Mr., from Scrafton, Watts
Watson, Admiral, from Mr. Bisdom, Clive, Dutch Council at Hugli, Fort St. George Council and Select Committee, Fort William Select Committee, King, Nawab, Warrick
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Manteeque (query Span., *mantica*, and Port., *manteiya*), butter or sugar
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Najarani nazarānah (P.), an extortionate tax, a forced contribution
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Nand Kumār, a Brahman born about 1720 in Birbhum. Made Dīwān or Deputy-Faujdār of Hugli in 1756, hanged for forgery in 1775, I., clix, clxiii, clxiv, clxvii, clxxv, clxxvii, clxxxv, cxcv; II., 52, 67, 81, 115, 118, 180, 228, 229, 280, 294, 295, 305, 317, 319, 331, 334, 343, 358, 363-365, 386; III., 259
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Nawāb's younger brother. *See* Mirzā Mahdī
Nawābganj, near Calcutta, I., cxliv, cxlv; II., 213.—In Purneah, I., cvii (*n*)
Nawāzish Muhammad Khān, eldest son of Hājī Ahmad and husband of Ghasīta Begam, eldest daughter of Alīvirdī, known as the Chota Nawab and as Shahāmat Jang, died

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in 1755, I., xxix, xliv, 67, 119, 174, 175, 206, 249; II., 2, 3, 16, 62, 65; III., 163, 216, 217.—Said to have been poisoned, I., 174, 175.—Widow of. *See* Ghasīta Begam
Nazīr Alī Khān, superintendent of the Hall of Audience to Alīvirdī ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 436), favourite of Ghasīta Begam, I., xlvii; II., 2; III., 217, 218
Nazīr Delal or Nasir Muhammad Dalāl, I., 5; II., 317; III., 202, 203
Nazir Jung, III., 161
Nazzur Ally Cawn. *See* Nazar Alī
Neaps, the, II., 252
Neelmoney (Nīlmanī)
Neptune (snow), Captain Austin, I., lxxiv, lxxxiv, xcvii, 161, 169, 256, 290, 296; III., 77
Nerly or Nelly (Malayal, *nel*), rice in the husk (Yule and Burnell)
Neutrality between Europeans in Bengal, I., cli-clxi, 215; II., 88, 91, 103, 114, 168, 175, 176, 178, 200, 206, 240, 249, 251, 252, 255, 259, 264, 268, 271, 272, 274, 275, 296, 298, 306, 310, 315; III., 117-119, 122, 173, 178-182, 186-196, 227-231, 245-247, 255, 264, 269
Newajis Muhammad Khan. *See* Nawāzish
Newspapers:
English: *London Chronicle*, III., 69, 70, 75, 77, 81, 83, 85, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96.—*Lloyd's Evening Post*, III., 77, 82, 93.—*Public Advertiser*, III., 74, 82, 83, 97.—*Read's Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, III., 81, 95
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Niaserai. *See* Nyāsarāi
Nicholas or Nicolas, Francis, Monsieur. *See Ives' Journal*, pp. 135, 136, member of Council at Chandernagore, I., clxiii; II., 120, 212, 276, 293, 298; III., 261, 271
Nicholson, Magnus, Captain of the *Hunter* (schooner), I., lxxxii, 159, 190; II., 157
Nicholson, died at Fulta, I., xciv; III., 76, 106
Nimo Gosseyng (Gusāin), III., 328
Nixon, William, free merchant and Mr. Manningham's writer, I., lxxvii, 81, 150, 153, 190, 298; III., 75, 106
Noble, Charles F., I., xxiii, xlii
Nollet. *See* John Elliot
Noort, Bernardus ten, a Dutchman, III., 410
Norwood (sloop), I., 197
Nose, a false, of clay, II., 325
Nover, Sergeant, sentenced to death for plundering, but pardoned by Clive (letter to Adlercron, 29 March, 1757, not included), III., 28
Nowarris, Md. Cawn. *See* Nawāzish
Noxes, Two, Doctor. *See* Knox
Nuddea. *See* Nadiya
Nulla (H., *nālā*), a watercourse, channel, or gully
Nuzzerany. *See* Najarani
Nya Serai, I., cxliii; II., 110, 175, 373; III., 65

Oakes, Edward, killed in the Patna Massacre
O'Hara, Charles, factor and assistant engineer, I., lxvi-lxviii, 41, 87, 107, 112, 128, 130, 153, 158, 172, 189, 255, 263; II., 150, 154, 227, 228; III., 75, 106
Omar Beg, an officer of Mīr Jafar, I., lvi, xcvii, clxxxvii, cxciii, cci, 2, 9, 10, 125, 127, 183 (*n*), 250; II., 59, 69, 382, 396-401; III., 211, 239
Omar Khān. *See* Omar Beg

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Omraw (Umrāo), Omichand's khidmatgār, III., 363

Opium trade, II., 63

Orange Tree (sloop), III., 21

Orissa or Orixa, one of the three provinces constituting the kingdom of Bengal, I., xxi, xxvii, xxxiii, xlv, cii, cxlviii, 219, 304; II., 83, 85, 86, 313

Orixa (ship), Captain William Roberts, I., 302; II., 267, 280

Orme, Robert, member of Council at Fort St. George, author of 'A History of the Military Transactions in Indostan' (London), I., xxx, xxxiii, xxxviii, xxxix, lxx, lxxxii, clxiv, clxxxix, cciii, 197, 223, 224, 226, 227, 237, 241; II., 133

Orr, Willes, incorrectly reported to have died in the Black Hole, I., 107, 172, 190; III., 72, 105

Osborne, died at Fulta, I., xciv

Osborne, Michael, Captain, a seafaring man, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 191; III., 72, 105, 154

Ostend Company, I., xxx

Oudh (Audh), I., xlvi; II., 239.—Nawab of, I., xlvii (*n*)

Overbeek, Daniel, a Dutchman, III., 409

Owd. *See* Oudh

Paccard. *See* Piccard

Pachowtèrah Dāroghah (H.), the collector of a duty of 5 per cent. (Panchotara or Pachotara) on the value of goods in transit. *See* Hakīm Beg

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Packer, Mrs., III., 76, 106
Paddau, III., 218
Paddy (Malay, *padi*), rice in the husk, whether growing or cut
Padre (Port.), a missionary or clergyman
Pādshāh. *See* Bādshāh and Grand Mogul
Page, Edward, died in the Black Hole, not a brother of Stephen Page, I., xciv, 43, 109, 190; III., 72, 105, 153
Page, Stephen, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 109, 190, 191; III., 72, 105, 153
Paikār (H.), a dealer, shopkeeper, agent, broker, hawker, pedlar
Pakkā (H.), ripe, matured, solid; applied to houses built of brick and mortar
Palankeen or Palanquin (Sans., *palyanka*), a bed, a box litter for travelling in
Palk, Robert, a member of the Council at Fort St. George, I., 237, 241
Palki (H.), a palankeen
Palmer, Charles, Captain, III., 53
Palmyras Point, I., cxxvii; II., 89, 95, 195; III., 31
Pan (1) (H.), a sum of eighty *kauri* shells, equal to twenty *gandas*. Sixteen *pans* make one *kāhan*
Pān (2), the aromatic leaf of the piper betel, or a leaf of it rolled round a few small pieces of areca-nut, with a little caustic lime (*chunam*), a few heads of spice, and sometimes a little *catechu* for the purpose of being chewed. It is presented to guests and visitors, and when sent to anyone is a pledge of friendship or safe-conduct
Pānsī (Beng.), a boat for passengers or goods having a tilted roof of bamboo, mats, or thatch over the aft portion
Pargana (P.), a district, tract, or province, of which several go to form a *chakla* or *zila*
Paria sloops (query 'country sloops'), III., 392
Paris, I., xcviii, xcix
Paris, news from, I., xcviii; III., 69, 107
Park, the, now known as Dalhousie Square, I., lxviii, lxxvii, 114, 129, 255; II., 32, 37
Parker, William, seafaring man, I., lxxvii, xciv, 191, 261; II., 37; III., 72, 104, 139, 154.—Killed in the fighting, III., 72, 104.—Died in the Black Hole, I., 191; III., 139, 154.—Mrs. Utritia, wife or widow of James Parker, III., 76, 107
Parliament, Act of, I., 223, 224
Parliamentary Select Committee, I., clxxxvii, cxcviii, ccxi; III., 283
Parrs. *See* Prahar
Parshaw. *See* Paschoud
Parsons, pilot, III., 416
Parwāna (P.), an order, precept, command, warrant, license, writ
Paschoud, John Francis, Captain-Lieutenant, III., 54, 60, 321
Patcha. *See* Bādshāh
Patchy Couly Cawn. *See* Bādshāh Kulī Khān
Pathans, used in India especially of people of Afghān descent (Yule and Burnell). There are four classes of Muhammadans in India: (1) Pathāns, of Afghān descent; (2) Mughals, of Turki descent; (3) Shaikhs, of Arab descent; and (4) Sayyids, the descendants of the Prophet, III., 271
Patna, I., xxvi, xxxv, cvii, clxii, clxiii, clxxviii, clxxix, ccvi, 19, 29, 100, 174, 220; II., 63, 82, 226, 227, 242, 264, 270, 275, 279, 280, 281, 286, 342; III., 125, 209, 210, 212, 213
Patta, on the East Coast of Africa, III., 22
Pattamār (Konkani, *pathmār*), a footrunner or courier, or a swift vessel
Patterson, George, III., 20

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Paunsway. *See* Pānsī
Pavillon, Bastion du, II., 300
Payne, John, member of the Court of Directors, II., 243
Peace of 9 February, I., cxlviii; II., 215-217. — Reasons for concluding, II., 222, 244
Pearce, Mrs., I., 110
Pearkes, Paul Richard, I., xxxv, xlix, lxvii, lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, cxiii, cxiv, 12-14, 41, 44, 65, 102, 107, 113, 121, 172, 198, 200, 219, 222, 263, 237; II., 38, 135, 144, 193, 263; III., 75, 105.—Garden, II., 76
Pegu, III., 216
elham (ship), III., 371
Pengal's Point, III., 4
Peninsula, the, I., cxxxviii
Pennatz, pilot, III., 416
Peon (Port.), a footman or foot-soldier (Yule and Burnell)
Perceval, William, member of Council, Fort Saint George, I., 197, 237, 241
Perreau, Samuel, First Lieutenant of the *Kent*, II., 312; III., 10, 15, 29, 115
Perrin's Garden. This belonged to the Company until 1752, when it was sold to Mr. Holwell. He sold it to Colonel Scot, who erected powder mills. These were sold to the Company in 1756 by Colonel Scot's executor, Captain Buchanan, I., xxxviii, xxxix, liv, lix, cxxxix. *See* Perrin's Redoubt
Perrin's Redoubt (*see* Bagh Bazar), I., lxvi, lxvii, lxx, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxviii, 8, 10, 13, 40, 42, 76, 85, 106-108, 111, 124, 132, 138, 140, 144, 146, 151, 158, 163, 186, 188, 216, 217, 222, 251, 522, 256, 261, 283, 290; II., 10, 22, 31, 32, 150; III., 17, 72, 128
Persia, I., xxv; II., 111
Persia, Gulf of, I., xcix; II., 92
Persian cat, II., 63.—Horse, I., cxlvi; II., 248; III., 15, 38, 59, 183.—Language, I., 57, 58.—Writer, I., 85
Persians, I., xxi
Peru, II., 97
Perwana. *See* Parwāna
Pescash. *See* Peshkash
Peshkash (P.), tax, tribute, fine, or quit-rent
Pharaoh, I., xxviii
Pharsalia, III., 342
Phātak (H.), a gate or barrier
Phillips, Master of the *Tyger*, III., 28
Phirmaund. *See* Farmān
Phirmaush. *See* Farmāish
Phœnix, the (1), I., xcix
Phœnix, the (2), I., xciv
Phousdar. *See* Faujdār
Phousdary. *See* Faujdārī
Phulbari, III., 202
Piccard, John Francis, I., lxx, lxxv, lxxviii, lxxxi, xciv, 40, 43, 78, 79, 85, 86, 107, 109, 111, 112, 138, 145, 151, 155, 156, 163, 186, 191, 256, 261, 263; II., 31; III., 72, 104, 153
Pickering, John, Captain of the *Adventure*, killed in the fighting, I., xciv, 42, 191; III., 77
Picques, Monsieur, member of the French Council at Chandernagore, II., 293, 298, 302; III., 260
Pigot, George, Governor of Fort Saint George, I., liii, cv, cxx-cxxii, cxxxix, clvii, 48, 63, 105, 134, 195-197, 199, 237, 238, 241; II., 71, 160, 188, 236, 257, 259, 279
Pikar or Pykar. *See* Paikār
Pikeparrah, III., 33
Piniot, III., 416
Pirka Jaga (Pīr-kī-jagah) (H.), the place of the Saint, the name given by the Muhammadans to the site of Plassey
Pischcash. *See* Peshkash
Placis Grove. *See* Laksha Bāgh
Plaistead, Bartholomew, ex-master attendant, I., lxix, 274
Plassey, I., lxii, cxiii, cxlvi, clxiv, clxxvi, clxxxv, cxci, cxciii-cxcv, cxcviii-cc, ccv; II., 289, 385, 401, 429, 457, 467; III, 55, 66-68, 159, 209, 212, 240, 251, 261, 262.—Battle of,

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Plassey Grove, I., cxcix-cci
Plassey House, I., cc
Play-House, the, I., 86, 148, 164; II., 35
Pleydell or Playdell, Charles Stafford, I., 172; III., 76, 106
Plummer, John, III., 21
Plymouth, I., xcix
Pocock, George, Admiral, I., cxxi, cxxvi, clxix, clxx, cciii, 239; II., 175, 178, 200, 201, 205, 253, 256, 290, 300, 309-312; III., 5, 9, 12, 28, 307
Point de Galle, III., 31
Points, the, I., 287
Pollock, Philip, supercargo, brother of Mrs. Massey, II., 182
Pompey, III., 342
Pondicherry, I., clii, clv-clvii, clxvi, 22, 57, 72, 143, 178, 307; II., 18, 80, 87, 117, 180, 205, 234, 257, 268, 269, 275, 296, 302; III., 167, 168.—Superior Council of, I., clii, clv, 307; II., 260, 274; III., 227
Ponsway. *See* Pānsī
Poona, III., 74, 111
Poonea. *See* Punya
Pooner. *See* Poona
Porcarrah, II., 416
Porter, Joseph, seafaring man, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 191; III., 72, 105, 154
—— Mrs. Ann, wife of Joseph, III., 76, 107
Porte Royale, I., clxxi, clxxii
Portfield, the, Captain Benjamin Godfrey, I., xcviii; III., 26, 69, 107
Portuguese, I., xxxiv, liv, lxviii, lxx, lxxiv, lxxxi, lxxxiv, lxxxvi, lxxxix, civ, cxi, cxxxvii, 47, 59, 76, 80, 88, 117, 130, 131, 137, 140, 143, 147, 152, 155, 161, 166-168, 171, 273, 274, 306; II., 28, 79, 80, 152.—In the Nawab's service, I., lxxii, lxxxvii.—Church at Bandel, III., 14.—Church at Calcutta, I., cxxxvii.—Convent, III, 43.—Fort at Hugli, I., xxxvi.—Priests, I., 140; III., 76, 106.—Soldiers, I., 102, 129, 135, 190.—Women, I., lxxvi, lxxxi, 87, 91, 144, 154, 157; II., 142, 190
Powder mills, II., 151, 190, 191
Power, John, II., 343, 350
Powney, William, Captain, seafaring man, I., 197, 237, 241
Prahar (Beng.), a period of six hours. The relays of *kāsids* were able to cover the distance between Murshidabad and Calcutta, which was (Orme, 'India,' xiii., p. 3665) 50 *kos*, or 100 miles, and a five days' march, in five hours, or 30 *prahars*
Pramjeebone Cobirage (Prān Jīban Kabirāj), I., 280, 281
Pretty, Captain, of the *Bombay* (frigate), III., 20
Prince Edward (ship), II., 77; III, 77
Prince George (Captain Thomas Hague), I., lxx, lxxiv, lxxxiii, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, 25, 42, 108, 113, 135, 158, 159, 167, 185, 187, 256, 263, 292; II., 44, 46, 49
Prince Henry (Company's ship), III., 373, 374
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Pritchard, Ensign, II., 263
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Pucca. *See* Pakkā
Pudda (Padma) River, I., 301
Pullen, Daddy, III., 93
Punds. *See* Pan (1)
Pungah (query P., *panja*), a representation of the hand of Ali carried in the Mohurrum procession, II., 56
Punya (H., Beng.), the day on which the revenue or rent for the ensuing year is fixed, or the day on which the first instalment is paid, II., 294, 355
Purbud (Parbat) Singh, II., 267
Purgunnah. *See* Pargana
Purneah, I., xxix, xlvii, li, cvi, cvii, cxvi, cliii, 6; II., 52, 55.—Nawab of. *See* Shaukat Jang
Purnell, Thomas, Captain, seafaring man, died the day after the Black Hole, I., xciii, xciv, 191; III., 72, 104, 154
Putham, John, Company's attorney, III., 75, 106.—Mrs., III., 76, 107
Putney (H., Beng., *pattani*), goods commissioned or manufactured to order
Pye, William, Captain, killed at Chitpur, I., cxlvi; II., 214, 242; III., 25, 33, 40, 60
Pyfinch, Herbert, a writer, I., 190; III., 76, 106
Pyrrhus, II., 431
Pytans. *See* Pathans, II., 296

Quarter forbidden to the Moors, I., lxxvi, 258.—Not expected from the Moors, I., 154

Rābiah Begam, sister (query sister-in-law or cousin) of Ghasīta Begam ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 186)
Rada Bullub. *See* Rāj Ballabh
Rada Kissen Mullick (Rādhā Krishna Malik), I., cxxviii; II., 74
Ragepout. *See* Rājput
Rahim Cawn (Rahīm Khān), an Afghan who had distinguished himself against the Marathas ('Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 387), I., clxxxiii; II., 110, 363
Rāi Durlabh, son of Rājā Jānaki Rām, chief Minister of Alīvirdī ('Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 406), I., xlviii, liv (*n*), lvi, lviii, lix, civ, cxi, cxv, clix, clxi, clxiv, clxxv, clxxxiii, cxcv, cxcix, cc, cci, ccix, ccx, 1, 6-9, 28, 57, 70, 105, 117, 131, 132, 175, 176, 216, 305; II., 9, 10, 11, 17, 50, 60, 61, 128, 208, 217, 276, 277, 289, 358, 363, 365, 369, 381, 387, 388, 394, 396, 397, 400, 401, 430, 431, 438, 451; III., 124, 163, 190, 191, 197, 199, 211, 212, 239, 240. — Agrees to support Sirāj-uddaula, I., xxx.—Seizes Cossimbazar Fort by treachery, I., lviii, 46.—Commands in the siege of Calcutta, I., clxiv; II., 50. — Shares in the defeat of Chitpur, I., clxiv. — Is afraid to assist the French at Chandernagore, I., clxiv.—Joins in the conspiracy against Sirāj-uddaula, I., clxxxiii.—Intrigue with Omichand, I., clxxxvi, cxci, cxcii.—Makes his own terms with the British, I., ccx. — Stands neuter in the fighting at Plassey, I., cci
Rāi Govind Rāi, II., 378
Rainbow, Mrs. Mary, III., 76, 107
Rains, the, I., li, lvii, lxi, cv, cxxi, cxxii, clx, cxcvii, 127, 139, 219, 285; II., 58, 229, 230, 256, 388
Rairayan (P.) rāi-i-rāyān, title of the Hindu financial Minister and treasurer of the Nawāb of Bengal, Comptroller and Superintendent of the Revenue Office ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 85) (*see* Umed Rai), I., 7, 11, 305
Raitt, Thomas, Alderman, II., 189; III., 88
Raiyat (A.), a subject, cultivator, farmer, peasant
Rājā (H.), king, prince, petty chief. The title is assumed by many Zamīndārs

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Raja Bullub. *See* Rāj Ballabh
Raja Doolub Ram. *See* Rāi Durlabh
Rajamaul. *See* Rajmahal
Rājārām, Faujdār of Midnapore and chief of the Nawab's spies or Intelligence Department, I., xlvi, xlix, lxxii, 100, 120, 141; II., 6, 22, 137, 149, 314, 355, 378
Rājārām's brother. *See* Narāyan Singh
Rāj Ballabh, a Bengali of Dacca ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 253), originally in charge of the fleet of boats maintained at Dacca to check the river pirates, then dīwān of Nawāzish Muhammad Khān, I., xliv, 7, 67, 119, 120-123, 141, 142, 162, 163, 174, 175, 179, 249-251, 278, 279; II., 2-7, 20, 22, 136-139, 146, 158; III., 163, 223
Rajmahal, I., xlviii, l, lvi, clxxviii, ccvi, ccvii, 3, 6, 100, 124, 125, 134, 215, 250, 278, 391; II., 8, 17, 55, 163, 364; III., 209, 212, 213, 218, 219, 241. —Faujdār of. *See* Dāud Khān
Rājput or Rajaput (H.), a general term for the races in the North and North-West of India, who claim descent from the ancient dynasties of the Sun and Moon. In Bengal itself they reside chiefly in Bahār, I., 46, 100; II., 330
Ramaji-Pundit (Rāmajī Pant Bhānu), deputy auditor or accountant of Bālājī Rāo, II., 314
Ramazān (A.), the ninth Muhammadan month, a period of fasting. The nineteenth, twenty-first, twenty-second, and especially the twenty-seventh days are particularly auspicious, I., lxxv, 33, 145
Ram Bux Hazarra (Rām Bakhsh Hazārī), II., 55
Rāmnarāin, son of Rang Lāl, succeeded Jānakī Rām as Nāib of Patna ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 117), drowned in the Ganges by Mīr Kāsim in 1763 ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 93), I., cvii, clxxix; II., 335; III., 174, 209, 210, 213, 214.—Saves Sirājuddaula in the Purneah campaign, I., ccvii
Ram Santos, III., 364
Rānaghāt, I., 116
Randag, Lambert, a Dutchman, III., 410
Ranjīt Rāi, agent of the Seths, I., cxlvii, cxlviii, clxv, clxxxi, clxxxvi; II., 221, 223, 224, 238, 240, 249, 278, 330, 342, 355, 362, 379, 381, 382, 400, 431; III., 193, 205, 208.—Negotiates treaty of the 9 February, I., cxlvii. — Carries presents to Clive and Watson, I., cxlix.—Impertinence to Law, III., 193.—Tricks the Nawab of money, which he pretends is necessary to bribe the British leaders, I., cxlix. — Tricked by Omichand, I., clxxxii.—Temporarily thrown over by the Seths, I., clxxxvi.—Reappearance, II., 431
Rannie, David, Captain, I., lxxiv, cxxxv, clx, 83, 85, 114, 152-190, 256; II., 111; III., 75, 106, 383.
—— Mrs. Elizabeth, III., 76, 106
Rasan Ali. *See* Mīr Rasan Alī
Rās Bihārī, I., cvi
Ravelin, the, I., 130, 255
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Sahid Ḥamud Khan. *See* Said Ahmad Khān
Sāhūkār (H.), a banker, dealer in money, a merchant
Saïd (Sayyid), a lord or chief, a designation assumed by all Muhammadans claiming descent from the Prophet
Saidabad, originally an Armenian Settlement founded in 1665 under a farmān of Aurangzeb, the site of the French Factory at Cossimbazar, I., xxxviii, cci, 196
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Sarkār (P.), Government, State, supreme authority
Sarkārī (P.), adjectival form of Sarkār
Saropā (P.), a complete dress of honour
Sarrāf (A.), a money-changer, banker
Saugers. *See* Sāgar
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Shāh Khānam, half-sister of Alīvirdī and wife of Mīr Jafar ('Seir Mutaqherin,' ii., 241)

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Shamsinghee, a kind of gun, probably after some man called Syām Singh

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Sicca or Sikka (P.), a coining die, a stamped coin, especially the silver money of the Kings of Delhi

Sicklagully or Sacry-gully ('Seir Mutaqherin,' i., 347), II., 55

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Stewart, Charles, author of 'A History of Bengal' (London, 1813), I., xlvii
Stibber, volunteer. II., 242
Stiegenhaus, Christoffel, Dutchman, III., 410
Stopford, Henry, carpenter, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43
—— William, butcher, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43
Strahan, a sailor, captures the Fort at Budge Budge, I., cxxxi

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Street, John, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv., 43, 109, 190; III., 72, 105, 153
Strousenberg, John, I., 190
Styche, I., clxxx (*n*); III., 361
Sūbah (A.), a province, government, or ruler of the same
Sūbahdār (P.), governor of a province, viceroy, also a military officer of the rank of captain
Sūbahdārī (P.), the government or province of a subahdār
Sucajunk. *See* Shaukat Jang
Success (galley), I., lxxxiv, cxiii, 45, 161; II., 13, 187, 256, 266; III., 19, 22
Sucdeb Molick (Sukh Deo Malik), III., 363
Suffech Cawn. *See* Sarfarāz Khān
Suffrage Cawn. *See* Sarfarāz Khān
Sujait Dowla. *See* Shujā-uddaula
Sukh-sāgar, I., lxix, 136
Summers, Henry, seafaring man, afterwards in the army, and killed in the Patna Massacre, 1763, I., 41, 190; III., 76, 106
Sumner, William Brightwell, I., lxx (*n*), lxxx, lxxxiii, 41, 70, 107, 112, 130, 152, 154, 158, 172, 189, 254, 259, 261; II., 28; III., 75, 105
Sundarbans, the heavily wooded and unhealthy district at the mouth of the Ganges, I., xliv; III., 291
Sunnud. *See* Sanad
Sūrat, I., clii-cliv, 289; II., 59, 80, 87, 111; III., 177, 216, 268
Surman, Mr. John, sent as ambassador to Delhi, I., xxiv
Surman, carpenter, died at Fulta, I., xciv; III., 416
Surman's Garden, southern limit of old Calcutta. In Upjohn's map of Calcutta, dated 1794, is marked Surman's or Kidderpore Bridge, I., xxxiv, xxxviii, xxxix, lxvi, lxxxi, lxxxiii, lxxxiv, lxxxix, xciii; II., 29, 77; III., 126-128
Swallow, the, Captain Thomas Lewis
Swarūp Chand. *See* The Seths
Sweedland. *See* Zuydland
Swenkels, Jan Hendrik, Captain-Lieutenant in the Dutch service, I., 15, 27, 31, 32, 34, 38; III., 410
Swiss troops, under Captain Gaupp, III., 11
Sydabad. *See* Saidabad
Sykes, Francis, I., lx, xcii, cxci, cxciii, cxcvi, ccvii, 162, 173, 251, 253; II., 13, 408, 411; III., 72, 105, 306, 307
Sylva, Elizabeth de, died at Bandel, I., xcvii
Syrang (Pers., *sarhang*), a native boatswain or commander of a small native vessel; *sar-sarhang*, a head boatman
Syren, the, Captain Evan Jones, I., cxiii, 162, 195; II., 91, 92, 132, 189, 237, 248, 249, 266; III., 21, 24, 83, 91

Taillefert, Louis, former Director of the Dutch in Bengal, III., 408
Taksīm (A.), contributions raised amongst villagers for village expenses. Used in the text (II., 225) for rents
Talbot, Robert, Lieutenant, died after being released from the Black Hole, I., lxviii, xciii, xciv, 42, 130, 191; II., 142; III., 72, 105
Taldanga Garden (near Chandernagore), II., 364
Tamāshā (A.), a spectacle or show
Tamerlane, I., cv
Tam-tam (of uncertain origin), a small native drum, such as that used by criers (Yule and Burnell)
Tana or Tanau Fort. *See* Tanna
Tank, the Great, I., lxxvii, 81; II., 32, 33, 36. — The Little, I., lxxvii; II., 33.—Square, now Dalhousie Square, I., 129 (*n*)
Tanks in Bengal, I., cxcix (*n*)
Tanksal (H., *tanksāl*), a mint, III., 152
Tanna or Mackwa Tanna, a fort on the right bank of the Ganges below Calcutta, I., lvi, lxiv, lxxiv, lxxxiv, cxviii, cxxviii, cxxix, cxxxi, cxxxii,

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Tantesaul (query Tanksāl), III., 65
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Tart, pilot, III., 416
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Tay Singh, II., 387
Tedcomb. *See* Tidecombe
Telicherry, English Settlement on the Malabar Coast
Telinga. *See* Tilanga
Terrible, the (privateer), sufferings of the crew when captured, a parallel to the Black Hole, III., 93
Thānadār (H.), an officer in charge of a *thāna* (military or police station) employed with a small irregular force under the Fauldar
Thessendel (query Krishna Dās), I., 2, 3
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Thompson, Christopher, III., 95
—— Robert, Midshipman on the *Tyger*, III., 96
Thoresby, Ralph, killed at Perrin's Redoubt, I., lxxv, xciv, 40, 107, 111, 145, 257; III., 72, 104
Thunder, (bomb), the, Captain Warwick, I., cxxxix; II., 202; III., 5, 18
Tidecombe, William, seafaring man, I., xciv, 44; III., 72, 104.—Killed in the fighting, III., 72, 104.—Died at Fulta, I., 44
Tiger, the (*see Tyger*), I., 238
Tilak Chand, Raja of Burdwan, I., cii, cxci, 136, 280, 281; II., 386
Tilanga (H.), a native of Tilangāna, the modern Carnatic, whence came the first native soldiers, who were dressed and disciplined in European fashion. The 'East Indian Chronologist' says the French were the first to employ such soldiers, and did so in 1746, II., 16
Tillotson's sermons, III., 147
Tilly or Tilley, seafaring man, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv; III., 72, 105
Timur (Amīr Tīmūr), 1336-1405, captured Delhi 1398, II., 230
Toby, Richard, Captain of the *Kingfisher*, I., cxxxix, clxviii; III., 7
Todd, John, carpenter, III., 416
Toldangy Garden. *See* Taldanga
Tom-tom. *See* Tam-tam
Tooke, William, mortally wounded in the attack on Chandernagore, I., lvii (*n*), lxxiii, lxxvii (*n*), lxxxiv (*n*), 41, 85, 107, 172, 190, 248, 249, 261; II., 37, 285, 322; III., 63, 75, 106
Toole or Tole, John, pilot, III., 416
Top or Tope (Tamil, *toppu*), a grove or orchard. Corresponds to Hindustani *bāgh* (Yule and Burnell)
Topas (Topaz), of doubtful origin, half-caste Portuguese soldiers, especially gunners
Torriano, Richard, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 109, 190; III., 72, 105, 153
Toumar zolam (Beng., *tomār ghulām*) = your servant
Tournac, Mrs., III., 76, 106
Train, the (Artillery Company), I., lxix, 111-112, 147; II., 29
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Tribeni, I., cxvii, clxi; II., 121; III., 254
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Triton, the, II., 235, 313
Tsinck, Menso, Member of the Dutch Council at Hugli, I., 15, 26, 27, 31, 32, 38; II., 101, 110, 113, 128, 285
Tuball, fiddler, III., 416
Tucksum. *See* Taksīm
Turkey in Asia, III., 116
Turner, William, afterwards in the army, killed in the troubles with Mīr Kāsim in 1763, II., 285
Turnpenny, the, III., 417
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Umed Rai (*see* Rāirāyān), killed by Mīr Kāsim in 1763
Underwood, Canham, III., 19

Vacqueel. *See* Wakīl
Vaishnava Dās Seth, I., xlii
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Van der Sleyden Simonsz, Jacob, a Dutchman, III., 409
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Venice, the banks of, I., 63; III., 340
Verandahs (of uncertain derivation), a covered passage or gallery round a house, III., 295
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Vernet, George Lodewyk, Dutch Chief at Cossimbazar, I., lx; II., 358; III., 150.—Miss, II., 291
Verrier. *See* Le Verrier
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Vizir. *See* Wazīr
Voorburg, the, a Dutch ship, I., 37, 53, 56; II., 79
Vosmar, the, a Dutch ship, I., 53
Vossmer. *See* Vassmer
Vouga, Ensign, I., 221

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Wakīl (A.), an agent, ambassador, attorney
Walcot or Walcott, Edward, Ensign, survived the Black Hole, died at Fulta, I., lxx (*n*), lxxvii, xci, xcii, xciv, xcvi, 43, 61, 88, 103, 116, 146, 173, 189, 191, 221, 258, 264; II., 27, 50, 52; III., 21, 72, 105, 144, 146, 154
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Warwick, Mrs., a Dacca lady, II., 418; III., 75, 105
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expulsion from Murshidabad, I., clxxviii.—Threatened by the Nawab, I., clxxix. — Overtures from the Seths, I., clxxxi.—Begins to suspect Omichand, I., clxxxv.—Treaty with Mir Jafar, I., cxci, cxcii.—His firmness apparently mistrusted by Clive, II., 367, 374, 398.—The danger of his position, I., cxci.—Escapes from Murshidabad, I., cxciii.—Letter to his father, II., 467.—Memoir. Two editions of this book, entitled 'Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal, A.D. 1757. . . . Collected from Original Letters and Papers now in the Possession of William Watts, Esq.' (London, 1764, 1766)

Watts, Mrs. Francis, known later as the Begam Johnson, wife of William Watts, I., lviii-lxi, 6, 133, 176, 183 (*n*), 207; III., 72, 105, 222-224.—Supposed to have influenced Watts in the surrender of Cossimbazar, I., lviii, 6; III., 222. — Her after-life, I., lx, lxi

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Wazīr (A.), the principal Minister in a Muhammadan sovereignty

Wazīr of the Great Mogul. *See* Ghāzī-uddīn Khān

Wedderburn, Charles, Ensign, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv, 43, 109, 191; III., 72, 105, 153

—— Henry, Captain, seafaring man, I., lxx, lxxx, lxxxiii, lxxxix, 41, 51, 85, 112, 130, 152, 169, 189, 245, 254, 261; II., 28, 35; III., 75, 106

—— Mrs. Alice, wife of Captain Henry, I., lxxix; III., 76, 106

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Whitby, I., xciv; III., 72, 104

Whitehaven, III., 95

White Town, the, I., xxxiv, 294; III., 127

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Whitherburn. *See* Henry Wedderburn

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Wilson, George, seafaring man, died in the Black Hole, I., xciv; III., 72, 105

Wilson, H. H., author of a 'Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms' (London, 1855)

Wilson, Nathaniel, Company's surgeon at Dacca, died at Fulta, I., xciv, 70; III., 75, 105

Winter, Thomas, Captain of the *Delaware*, I., cxiii, 193; III., 19

Witherington, John, Captain, seafaring man, I., 44; III., 75, 106, 153

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Young, Lieutenant, I., clxxiv
Young, Andrew, Captain of the *Dodaly*, I., lxxxii, lxxxiii, 94, 190; II., 41, 45, 155.
—— Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Captain Andrew, III., 76, 107
Young, John, agent of the Emden Company, I., lxi, cli, 66, 173 (*n*), 194, 277; II., 179, 181, 185
Yule and Burnell, compilers of 'Hobson-Jobson: a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, etc.' (London, 1886 and 1903)

Zain-uddīn Ahmad (Haibat Jang), youngest nephew and son-in-law of Alīvirdī, and later Nawab of Patna, father of Sirāj-uddaula, I., xxvi, xxix, 119
Zamīndār, a landowner, or rather the collector of revenues, also the title of the Magistrate and Collector of Calcutta. His jurisdiction was limited almost entirely to the natives. 'The Zamindar acts in a double capacity, distinct and independent of each other, . . . the one as Superintendent and Collector of your revenues, the other as the Judge of the Court of Cutcherry, a tribunal constituted for the hearing, trying, and determining all matters and things, both civil and criminal, wherein the natives only, subjects of the Mogul, are concerned' (Holwell, 'India Tracts,' p. 177)
Zamindar of Calcutta (*see* J. Z. Holwell), I., xli, 266-269, 281; III., 97
Zemindar. *See* Zamīndār
Zubdatoot Toojah (Zubdat-uttujjār, 'the select of merchants'), an honorfic appellation used of both Mr. Watts (II., 295) and M. Renault (II., 264)
Zunder Mahomed Cawn. *See* Zain-uddīn Ahmad
Zuydland, Lucas Jurriansz, master attendant of the Dutch at Hugli, I., 15, 27, 31, 32, 34, 38; II., 78; III., 410

THE END

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